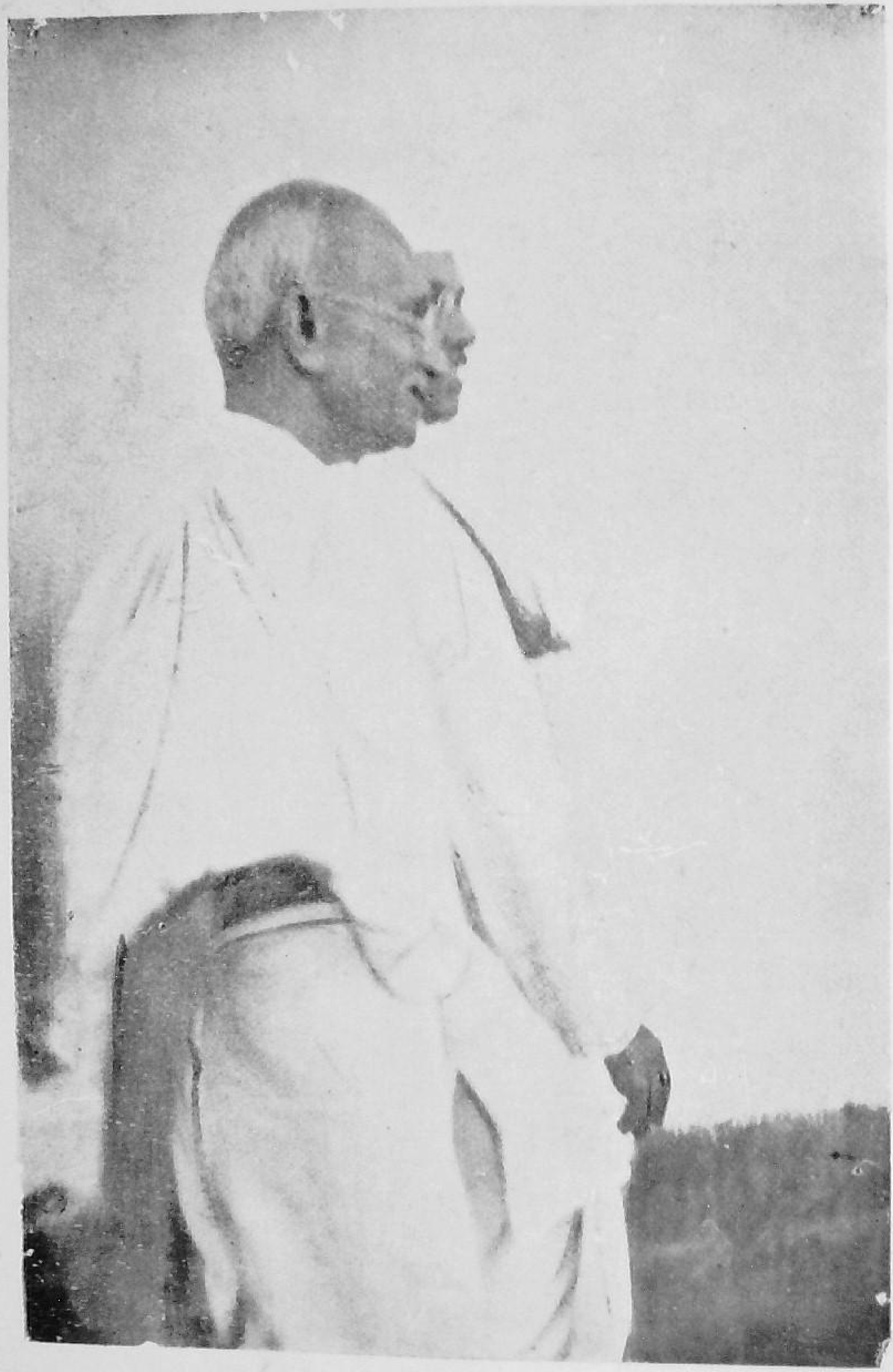

Master and Disciple

J. C. KUMARAPPA
AND
HIS QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE

By
M. VINAIK

Foreword
by
RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR

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FOREWORD

I am very glad that a biography of Shri J. C. Kumarappa has been brought out in Tamil and that it is being published in Hindi, Marathi and English also.

I have had the pleasure and privilege of J. C. Kumarappa's friendship for many years now and I have also had an opportunity to see him at work. He is a man of rare gifts. He could have chosen the easy way and earned a name for himself in the profession for which he had been trained. But with his love of the country and high ideals he was early drawn to place his services at the feet of the Father of the Nation.

I think I can say without fear of contradiction that he is one of the closest and most faithful followers of Gandhiji, not in word but in deed. I was often present when Kumarappa came with his problems to Gandhiji. He was one of the few, like our Prime Minister, who could dare to argue with Gandhiji and not give in unless and until he was completely convinced that Gandhiji was right. And once having been convinced he followed the pattern laid down not only in the letter but also in the spirit.

The All India Village Industries Association, of which Kumarappa was in charge, was really basic to the ideals of the society founded on Non-violence and Truth, which Gandhiji wanted to build and for the attainment of which he lived and died. It was not an easy matter to turn the eyes of educated India towards

the need of the village and towards the building up of an economy which goes completely against the economy of the West. Kumarappa has often had to plough a lonely furrow. But he has done it with courage and devotion which only an undying faith can bring into a cause. He has lived as a villager ever since he came to work for the All India Village Industries Association and he has never swerved from his belief that unless we form our policies on the broad-based self-sufficiency which Gandhiji wanted for our villages, there will be no progress for India and India will then have failed to show the non-violent way of life either to her own people or to the world.

Whether one agrees with J. C. Kumarappa or not, one cannot but admire his vigorous intellect and his zeal for the cause which he has made his own. It is a matter of regret that physical ill-health has now more or less laid him on the shelf. I hope, many, the youth of India, in particular, will read his biography in the right spirit and thereby benefit from it.

2, Willingdon Crescent, AMRIT KAUR
New Delhi,
1st October, 1956

PREFATORY NOTE

One Indian was flinging into the fire heaps of foreign cloth in one of the localities of Bombay, while, at the same time, another Indian was heading to the Governor's Bungalow for the levee held in honour of the visit of the Prince of Wales in another part of the same city. The former was none other than Mahatma Gandhi, and the latter the youthful Kumarappa, who was thoroughly Western in those days. In later days the same Kumarappa turned out to be one of the most ardent of the followers of Mahatmaji.

Kumarappa excelled his Guru in his obedience to strict rules. Once, as Financial Adviser to the Bihar Central Earthquake Relief Committee he even refused to pass the travelling and other expenses of his Guru. This strictness of Kumarappa in handling public funds endeared him to his master.

The life of Shri J. C. Kumarappa was moulded and directed by a series of what may be humanly termed, " Accidents ", into that of a devoted constructive worker. As a boy, because of his talents, he was marked out to become an engineer. Circumstances, however, drove him into the auditing profession. His study of economics switched him over to Public Finance which brought him to the attention of Gandhiji, who turned him into a constructive worker. His background, education and training centred round large scale industries, but he rose to be the President of the All India Village Industries Association. He set

out in life to be a man of wealth but he ended up as a Fakir! His life testifies to the truth of the saying, "Man proposes, God disposes."

I have been a close associate of Shri Kumarappa for about two decades and have culled the facts narrated in the following pages from various records, speeches, articles and interviews with persons who have been intimately connected with him over a period of years and am presenting them in this book in response to a demand by the public, and I hope that this record of the life of a Constructive Worker will prove an inspiration to our youth seeking to serve the motherland.

I am thankful to Smt. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur for contributing a foreword to this book. For undertaking the laborious task of checking up the typescript I am grateful to Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa.

M. VINAIK

Gandhiniketan Ashram,
T. Kallupatti,
Via Tirumangalam, S. Ry.,
2nd October, 1956

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J. C. KUMARAPPA
AND
HIS QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE

PART I

YOUTH

CHAPTER I

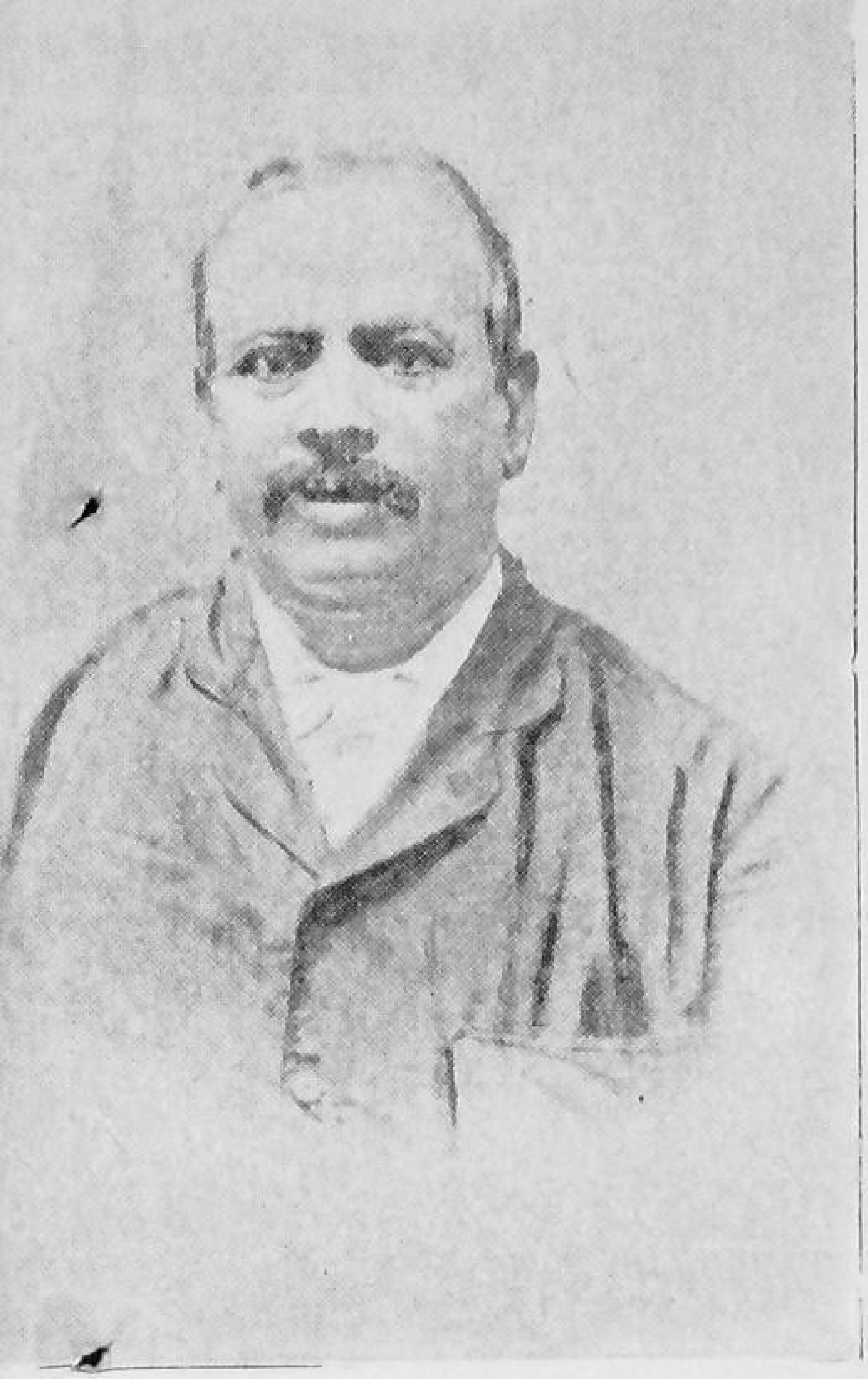
AT THE MOTHER'S KNEE

Kumarappa belongs to an orthodox Christian family of Mudurai in Tamilnad. He was born on the 4th of January, 1892 at Tanjore, where his father Shri S. D. Cornelius — an officer in the Public Works Department of the Government of Madras — was serving at that time. He was named Joseph Chelladurai and was the ninth child.

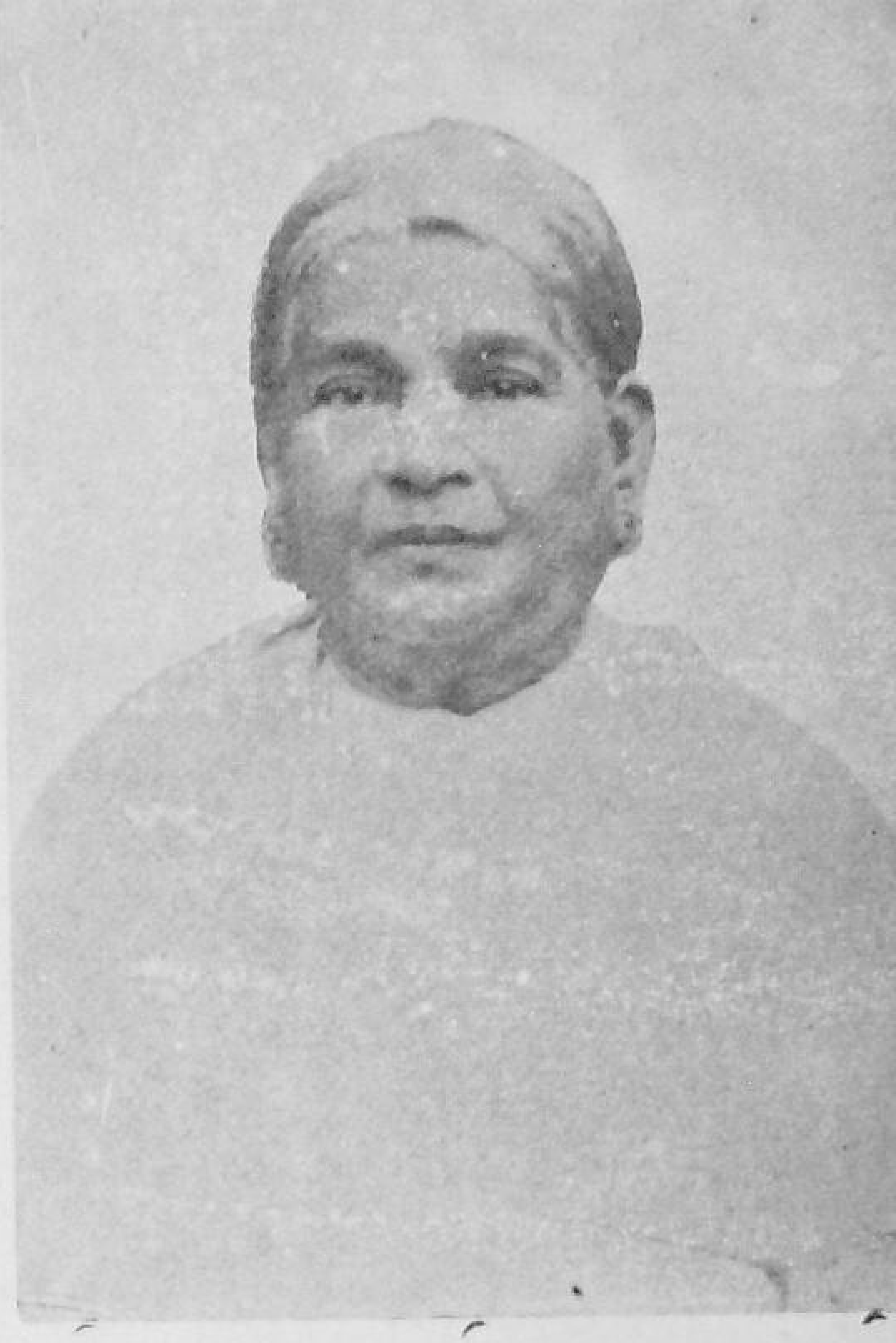
Kumarappa writes as under about the qualities of his mother :

> " My mother was not a learned woman in the sense of possessing a university education. She came of devout Christian stock of South India. She had read widely for her generation, especially in Tamil. She spent her life of comparative simplicity in the practice of the tenets of Jesus. Her piety, her sympathy for and love of her neighbours she expressed by her attempt, however humble it may have been, to help those in distress. Her life and actions made an impression on my child-mind much greater than many volumes of theology could have done. Her ways of inculcating religion were simple and unique.
>
> As a child I was fond of pets. My mother encouraged me to breed poultry, turkeys, guinea fowls, etc. When she went to the market at the

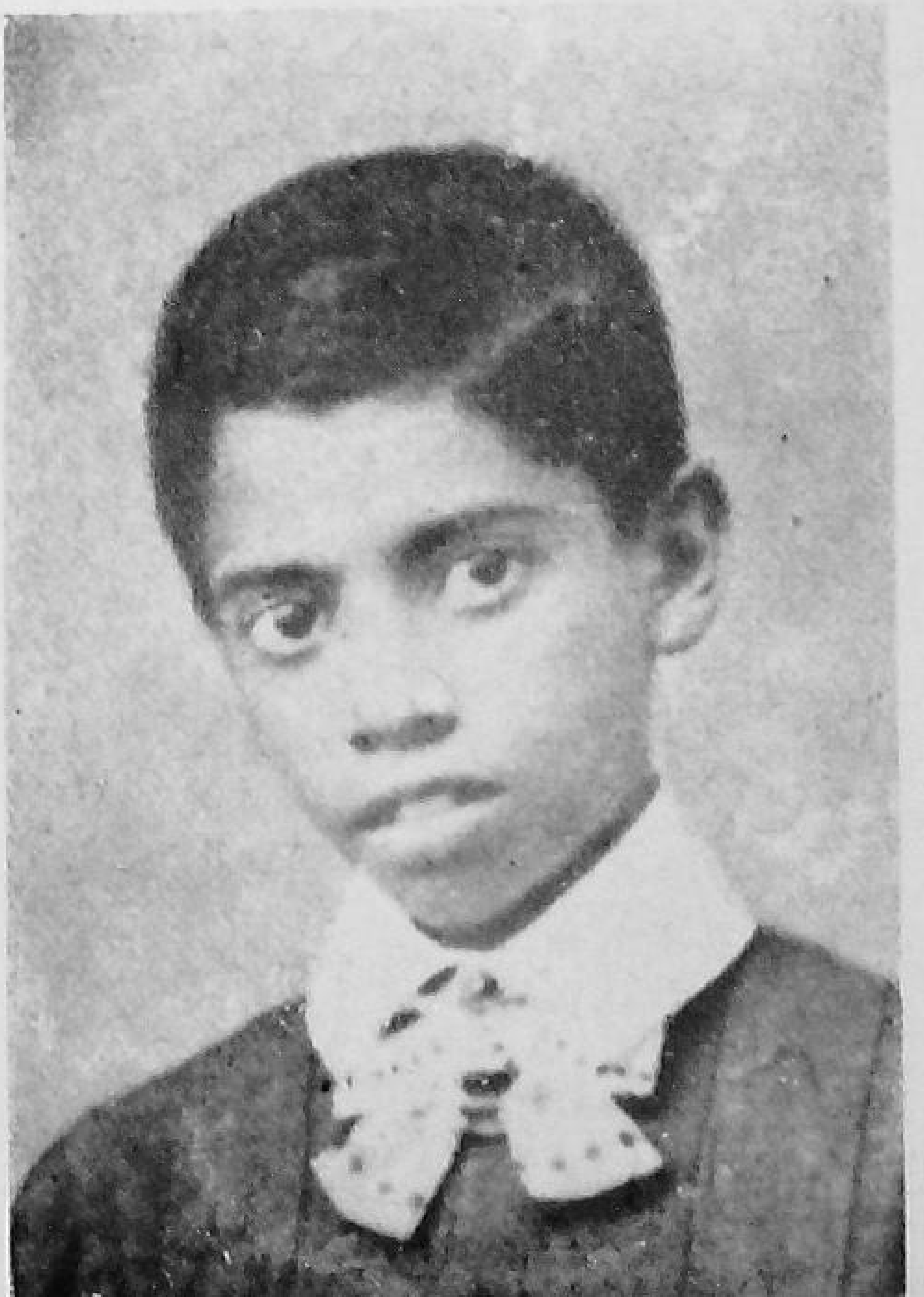
beginning of the month to get her monthly stores she would take me with her to buy chicken feed. During the month I would sell the eggs and keep accounts and at the end of the month she would interest me in finding out what profit had been made. This profit had to be made over to her for being disbursed on simple charities — like the support of an orphan child at school. Even when I was grown up and working as a Public Auditor, on the first of the month, I had to send her my 'tithes' out of my income. This 'tithe' did not mean a mathematical one-tenth, but was a liberal tax calculated by the needs of her charity budget! Once when I was spending a summer holiday with her at Kodaikanal in the early twenties, on a Sunday at Church the announcement was made that China was visited by a terrible famine. That day, the noon dinner was a perfect feast. We could not assign any reason for its provocation. When we inquired, mother smilingly replied, "I shall explain later." We enjoyed our nap. Then at tea-time, mother called us together and told us of this famine in China and contrasted it with the sumptuous meal we ourselves had enjoyed and invited us to help in feeding the distressed in China. She brought out a subscription list with amounts set against our several names according to her conception of our respective ability to pay down the sum immediately. She had put me down for fifty rupees and took it too! Besides such personal contributions, she made us go round and collect from our friends also. She used the lever of her mother-love to goad us on. This was the home training."



Father



Mother



J.C.K. at the age of nine

While thus the mother contributed largely for the moral and spiritual upbringing, the father laid the foundation for social living. He was a strict disciplinarian, punctual, systematic and accurate and of few words. He led a well-regulated life. After 5 a.m. he would go round the house with his towel in hand whipping up the children out of bed into activity. He was fond of looking after the horses and cows which were part of the family. He believed in clean and healthy living. He, not only saw to the spick and span condition of the house, but also kept the garden neat, trim and tidy. He would go out in the mornings with a cane in hand, watch that nobody committed any nuisance in the neighbourhood. He kept the municipal servants on the go and up to the mark. He would even inspect that the children's nails were well pared and cleaned and took interest in their being well-clothed. He put the children in the best schools available and guided their study at home. Though he was an affectionate father and our J. C. came late in his life, he did not spare the rod when it was called for! If the boy obtained double promotions at school the father had no little share in the pupil's performance.

Thus both the parents played their part in the home training of our constructive worker. The natural engineering talents of the child bloomed to its full in national reconstruction and the auditor developed into a fearless, unrelenting critic in afterlife.

CHAPTER II

EARLY EDUCATION

Kumarappa was a bright lad at school. From childhood, because of his inborn leanings, he was intended for the engineering profession. He was strong in mathematics, but weak in history. He was prevented from going up for his Matriculation one year as he was under age. The next year he had to study two or three years' text-books to appear for the examination. In the preliminary school test he had low marks in history. The Principal warned him that he should give special attention to history before the Matriculation examination in a month or two. This made Kumarappa obtain honours marks in history at the Matriculation while he just passed in his special subject — mathematics. When he registered for college, the then Principal of the Christian College — the late Dr. Skinner — a strict Scotchman — refused to admit him in college for mathematics, but was willing to admit him for history! Kumarappa tried to explain that history was his bugbear and he wanted to take engineering later and so he needed a mathematics degree. But the wooden rule of the Principal could not be got round and he said, "I am not concerned with what you want to do; I have to go by your marks at the Matriculation examination where you have secured distinction in history." This event led Kumarappa from his pet profession of engineering into accountancy and the audit as a profession, as the Principal was adamant.

Kumarappa qualified himself as an Incorporated Accountant in London and was establishing himself as a successful auditor there in partnership with a British firm. He was thoroughly British in his ways. His mother was afraid he would never come back to his native land. When the war was over in 1919, she therefore wrote to his partners that she would like them to pack him off to India. This they managed to do and Kumarappa set up his practice in Bombay and was fast taking root. First he started working with an English firm of auditors by name Ford, Rhodes and Parks. In the year 1924, he separated himself and established a separate auditing firm under the name of Cornelius and Davar.

At this time his eldest brother J. M. Kumarappa was in New York and persuaded his brother J. C. Kumarappa to visit the U.S.A. for a holiday of a few months after his strenuous work in building up his practice. In 1927, Kumarappa decided to go to the U.S.A. for a holiday, but after a month in that country his restless spirit wanted to do some solid work and he joined the Syracuse University and took his B.Sc. in Business Administration in the year 1928. The next year, on the advice of his Professor, Dr. Wm. Peck, he went over to the Columbia University to study public finance. For this he was preparing his Master's Essay on the Bombay Municipal Finance. His principal Professor, Dr. E. R. A. Seligman, had seen a press report in the *New York Times* of a casual lecture Kumarappa had delivered in a church on " Why then Is India Poor ? " The Professor was so much taken up with it that he insisted that his Master's Essay should be on the causes of Indian poverty through public finance, which study so convinced Kumarappa

of British injustice and exploitation that he turned a nationalist.

With this change of heart, it was natural that Kumarappa wanted to be an Indian first and foremost. So he took up the original Hindu name of his family "Kumarappa".

An Incident:

Once after his change in name he was invited by the Mysore Government. The day he reached Bangalore, a talk was arranged over the radio. This was without any previous arrangement. Hence, there was no possibility of anyone knowing that Kumarappa was in Bangalore that evening.

After the talk was over, Kumarappa was being taken round the Broadcasting station when suddenly two persons, father and son, wanted to meet him. He did not recognize them. The visitors asked, "Are you Kumarappa, or are you Cornelius?" The reply was, "Well, I am both."

The father had heard Kumarappa's lectures in America and so when he heard the same voice and the same line of argument, he decided it was Cornelius whom he had heard years before in America. But the younger one said, he had heard the announcer of the Broadcasting station saying, 'Kumarappa of the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha.' So they began quarrelling as to who he really was. In order to clear their doubts they came to the Broadcasting station!

Their doubts were dispelled. The old Westernized Cornelius was the present Kumarappa, the Gandhian worker.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMICS AS A WAY OF LIFE

Many have wondered as to how Kumarappa arrived at his views in economics. Specially so, as his early background was highly capitalistic and pro-imperialist. He was brought up to believe in the trusteeship of the British Government, their well-meaning bureaucracy and their god-sent mission! These were drilled into him in an Anglo-Indian College in Madras. He says, "Many of us who ape the Anglo-Indians, isolate ourselves from the rest of the neighbours, who are Hindus and Muslims. We ape them in their language, customs and share their religion. We little enter into the life of our other countrymen."

Then, the whole background of his childhood was city-centred. He had hardly any knowledge of the countryside. With this background he underwent higher education in Europe and had his training as an Auditor in London. His official duties brought him closely in touch with large-scale industries and luxury factories. And as luck would have it, it happened to be during the time that the first world war was raging. At that time, many of the factories were engaged in war work under the Ministry of Munitions. They received from the Government a share of their costs, if their accounts were audited by professional men, and so auditors were in great demand. This made him almost an integral part of the financial organization of large-scale and centralized industries.

In all this, there was no consideration of violence or non-violence. War was taken for granted and was

looked upon as a necessary part of a well-ordered society, though in his younger years his training at his mother's knee had put in him a moral approach to his immediate neighbours. This, however, was suppressed in the maddening rush and turmoil of London life, where every man was considered to be his own destiny-maker, regardless of what happens to his neighbour or even at the cost of his neighbour.

The one redeeming bright spot in this horizon was that the British in their business relationship took care as a rule to see that the individual's pursuits did not mar the nation's good. This was constantly dinned on him by British friends who were closely associated with him. One of the favourite slogans, which the accountant to whom Kumarappa was articled, constantly repeated was, 'Never make a mistake which will make another man fall.' And in special application, his principal's wife, who was a lady of high public spirit, always impressed upon him that in whatever we did we must consider the social aspect of our actions. Whenever he bought anything she went through his purchases and offered her criticisms. If he had procured anything shoddy, she would immediately say that by buying such things we harm ourselves because we get inferior-quality goods and at the same time we encourage production of such goods by affording a market for them because of their cheapness. She often told him of the consumer's duties towards the producer and placed the blame for inferior goods more on the consumer than on the producer, as the producer only follows the lead given by the consumer. Besides, such inferior goods may only tend to bring disrepute to the nation's manufactures. This being so very different from business consideration in our country where

cheapness is the main consideration and where very little attempt is made to maintain production standards, this notion of a consumer's responsibility impressed him greatly.

With this background of individual moral responsibility taught by his mother and of social responsibilities learnt later, he went to America. At the Columbia University, he took a seminar entitled "The Economics of Enterprise". The Professor responsible for this course was Dr. H. J. Davenport. He led a school of thought which believed that no considerations other than individual profits should weigh in economics. He had written a book which gave the name to the course, and which was the text-book of study at the seminar. The whole theme may be condensed in an illustration given by the author, whereby he pointed out that if a burglar drilled out a safe and stole its contents, then we should call the jimmy, an instrument he used in the process, an instrument of production, because from the burglar's point of view, it had increased his own purchasing power. The purpose of production, he held, was the increase of purchasing power! We were not to apply to it any moral values or social considerations. This philosophy seemed to Kumarappa wholly wrong and he fought it tooth and nail. A great deal of the discussion at the seminar was carried on between Kumarappa and the professor. He was told by his fellow-students that he was in the danger of losing his credits and so he should beware and refrain from further discussions. But it must be said to the credit of his professor, that though Kumarappa's arguments made him red in the face, yet he recognized Kumarappa's courage and original

thinking and marked him at the end of the term as an "A 1" student. It shows much to his credit, that he appreciated Kumarappa's views though they were opposed to his, and though he was well convinced of the truth of his own philosophy and was over 70 years of age. Such arguments developed Kumarappa's thinking on moral lines all the more.

Accordingly from this time onwards, Kumarappa was pretty clear in his mind that man is not merely a wealth-producing agent but essentially a member of the society with political, social, moral and spiritual responsibilities. This swung him over to the other end in which material production came to be regarded as only a minor item in the life of a man. He looked upon Dr. Davenport as a great contributor to his way of thinking, as it was Dr. Davenport who drove him from complacently being a party to capitalistic and imperialistic organizations, and to rethink his own economics. Kumarappa's yard-stick now became definite and he measured whatever he came across with the moral and social standards that he had learned to apply in the economic realm. He lost interest in making money and wrote some essays which brought him to the notice of Gandhiji into whose net he ultimately fell.

Rather early in his days with Gandhiji, once Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya remarked to Gandhiji complimenting him on the wonderful training he had given to Kumarappa. Gandhiji replied, "I have not trained Kumarappa, he came to me ready-made." If the truth were known he could have well remarked, "He came to me 'Davenport-made!'"

CHAPTER IV

MEETING GANDHIJI

In the year 1929 Kumarappa had returned from the United States where as already said, he had made a study of Indian public finance and wrote out the story of the British exploitation of India through their taxation policy. It was suggested that he should publish his thesis in India. He was negotiating with some of the publishers in India in this regard, when he was told that the subject was one in which Gandhiji would be intensely interested and he was urged to submit the manuscript to him first. At that time Gandhiji was merely a name to him. He knew practically nothing about Gandhiji. The person who was responsible for this suggestion was very persistent about his getting into touch with Gandhiji. Gandhiji was passing through Bombay towards the end of April that year after his South Indian Harijan tour. Kumarappa was then practising as an Auditor in Bombay. He was directed to go and see Gandhiji at Mani Bhavan, Laburnam Road, Gamdevi, the usual Bombay residence of Gandhiji at that time. He went in European clothes up the staircase and the door was answered by someone whom he took to be a servant, clad in *dhoti* and shirt, Kumarappa asked him if he could see Gandhiji and he was told that Gandhiji was busy in a Working Committee meeting and that he would not be able to see him just then. He had taken his manuscript with him. The person who was talking to him, since he was able to speak good English, he thought, might be worthy of taking a message. So he

left the manuscript with him and asked to give it to Gandhiji. (This person later turned out to be Gandhiji's Secretary, Pyarelal !). Pyarelal telephoned to Kumarappa's office address later to say that Gandhiji would want to see him in Ahmedabad after he had had a look at the essay and suggested that he should see him in Sabarmati on a certain date. Accordingly on the appointed day he went to the Ashram where he was horrified at the emptiness of the so-called "Guest Room". Though glorified by such a designation it was devoid of all furniture except a *charpai*. Squatting toilet arrangements further made him anxious to get away from the place at the earliest moment. With these personal difficulties, his appointment being in the afternoon, he anxiously waited to get it over with. The house where Gandhiji was staying was pointed out to him and he was told that was the place where he should report himself at the appointed time. With a walking stick in one hand and manuscript in the other, he walked down the banks of Sabarmati at about 2 p.m. and after enjoying the beauty of the bed of the river, walked up the bank again towards Gandhiji's house.

On the way up, he saw an old man seated under a tree on a neatly cleaned cowdunged floor, spinning. Having never seen a spinning wheel before, he leaned on his walking stick and standing akimbo was watching, as there were still 10 minutes for the appointment. This old man, after about 5 minutes, opened his toothless lips and with a smile on his face enquired if he was Kumarappa. It suddenly dawned on Kumarappa that his questioner may be no other than Mahatma Gandhi. So he, in his turn, asked him if he was Gandhiji and when he nodded, Kumarappa promptly

sat down on the cowdunged floor regardless of the well-kept crease of his silk trousers! Seeing him sitting with outstretched legs, more or less in a reclining position, someone from the house came rushing down with a chair for him and Gandhiji asked him to get up and sit in the chair more comfortably. He replied that since he himself was seated on the floor he did not propose to take the chair.

Gandhiji told him that he was interested in the essay Kumarappa had written and that he proposed to publish it in a series in his journal, *Young India.*

Then he enquired if Kumarappa would undertake a rural survey for him in Gujarat. He found that the approach that Kumarappa had to economics was almost exactly the same as his, and that he was about the first student of economics Gandhiji had come across with the same viewpoint. Kumarappa raised the difficulty of language, but Gandhiji quickly brushed it aside saying he would place the professors of economics of Gujarat Vidyapith with all their students at Kumarappa's disposal to help him with the survey, and suggested that he should go and see the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapith, Kaka Kalelkar, who, Gandhiji informed him, was the person who came running down the steps with a chair for him!

In the afternoon he went to the Gujarat Vidyapith to see Kaka Kalelkar. Seeing Kumarappa dressed in the most fashionable western style, Kaka Saheb did not feel that he would fit into the sort of work that Gandhiji wanted him to do and he regarded his ignorance of Gujarati as a great handicap and discouraged him. Kumarappa got into a huff, and, even without taking leave of Gandhiji, returned back to Bombay and wrote to Gandhiji that he would be glad to help

him with any work that he wanted done, but that Kaka Saheb did not feel that he would be of any use. By return of post Kumarappa got back a letter from Kaka Saheb to say that he would be most happy if he would go back and do the work that Gandhiji wanted! Naturally, he gathered that Gandhiji had probably pulled Kaka Saheb over the coals for discouraging him. (Years later Gandhiji in the course of conversation on study of characters referred to this incident and said, "Kumarappa, you remember Kaka Saheb was not able to size you up when he first met you, on the other hand the moment I saw you I felt, here is a young man I must grab." And he succeeded in doing so, as later events proved.)

While he was doing the survey Gandhiji started off on the "Dandi March" at the first stage of the Salt Satyagraha, and after his arrest the trustees of the Navajivan Trust invited Kumarappa to conduct the paper *Young India* in the absence of Mahadev Desai and Gandhiji. His writings in the *Young India* ultimately landed Kumarappa in jail after which it became impossible for him to return to resume his practice as an auditor in Bombay, since a great many of his clients were European and Parsee firms who would not tolerate a man with Gandhian sympathies. It was after this that he threw in his lot with Gandhiji.

CHAPTER V

IN THE COUNTRY'S SERVICE

When Gandhiji was on the "Dandi March" Kumarappa's articles on 'Public Finance and our Poverty' * were published in a series. Gandhiji wished them to be collected together in the form of a pamphlet and Kumarappa desired that it should bear a foreword from Gandhiji. To discuss this matter he invited Kumarappa to meet him at Karadi where he was camping then. In his own 'efficient' way Kumarappa had prepared a foreword for him, took it all type-written and ready for him to sign! Gandhiji looked at it and smiled and put it aside saying, 'My foreword will be my foreword and will not be written by Kumarappa.' He then said he had called Kumarappa there not so much to discuss the question of the foreword, as to ask if he would write regularly for his paper *Young India* when he was arrested. He informed Kumarappa that the arrangement was that when he (Gandhiji) was arrested Mahadev Desai was to take over charge and he, therefore, wished Kumarappa to help Mahadevbhai then. Kumarappa replied that he knew nothing about Gandhian philosophy nor what had gone before in *Young India,* neither did he know how to occupy a journalistic chair! He told him that he understood "auditing dusty ledgers" much better, and if there was any work in that line, he would gladly undertake and asked Gandhiji to spare him from doing any writing work. Then Gandhiji replied, "As regards

* Later collected under the same title and published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, Price Re. 1-8-0, Postage etc. As. 5.

your qualifications to write, I, as the editor of the paper, have to sit in judgment and not you, and therefore it is that I invite you to write for this paper. We have the tradition of publishing the name of the writer under each article. If you write any trash then, the public will say Mahatma Gandhi's paper publishes trash, but if you write anything that was appreciated they would give all credit to this Kumarappa who is writing in Gandhiji's paper ! " This presentation of the appeal was irresistible and Kumarappa promised Gandhiji that he would begin sending articles soon after Gandhiji's arrest. (It may here be stated that as events came about, Mahadev Desai was arrested before Gandhiji and later when Gandhiji was arrested, Kumarappa was required not only to contribute articles to *Young India*, but to take up its editorial charge.) This incident indicates the masterly way in which Gandhiji makes his appeal irresistible, and grabs his victim as a boa-constrictor !

PART II

IN THE CHRYSALIS

CHAPTER VI

THE CHANGE OVER IN FORM AND THOUGHT

Till 1929, Kumarappa was living in Western style in dress and food. When, however, he decided to work with Gandhiji, he wanted to put on Indian clothes. He was a total stranger to Khadi too. So he consulted his friend, C. H. Sopariwala, who was the one who had insisted on his meeting Gandhiji. Sopariwala advised him to go to the Khadi Bhandar at Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Accordingly Kumarappa went and asked to be " measured " for *dhotis* ! The salesman viewed him with amusement and said, " We do not measure or fit for *dhotis* which are ready woven in certain breadths. Probably 47 inches will suit you." Thus he got his " Indian outfit " of half a dozen *dhotis, kurtas,* caps and long coats with buttons in front, which had pictures of Gandhiji on them !

Kumarappa chiefly moved in European circles going to dinners etc. in " evening dress ". When Dr. John Mackenzie (later Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University) heard of his thinking of working with Gandhiji and going in for Indian clothes with chappals and all complete, Mrs. Mackenzie extended to him a special invitation to come to them for tea on the first occasion he doned such a costume. Readily Kumarappa got a Maharashtrian friend to help him to put on the *dhoti* etc. in proper style and, in a very self-conscious state, went to the Mackenzie's house. The moment he saw the lady he bowed and pulled off his Gandhi cap ! On this she clapped hands and laughing heartily said, " You must also learn Indian manners. You must not

take off your cap in greeting, but throw off your chappals!" Thus the transformation from a 'sahib' to a 'national worker' took place outwardly also.

In 1930, according to the wishes of Gandhiji Kumarappa undertook a detailed survey of Matar Taluka. He was assisted by nine students and two professors of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

It was Kumarappa who brought to the notice of the public the pitiful plight of the villagers in India in those days. The average earning per head was seven pies per day. Even then the Government had no pity on them. They still went on merrily with their programme of heavy tax collections. Irrigation facilities were nowhere to be seen. But dried tanks were considered to be suppliers of water and adjoining fields taxed as wet lands. Prof. Kumarappa aptly called this department, "Dry Irrigation Department". These were only a few of the instances of the misrule in India.

We are indebted to Kumarappa for bringing to light these facts and helping to open the eyes of the world to the British Imperialistic regime in India in a report—*An Economic Survey of Matar Taluka.** Kaka Saheb Kalelkar writes in his Prefatory Note, "The Report is presented to the public as an authoritative document on the economic condition of a typical taluka of Gujarat. The reader will find that the statistics presented here in careful schedules are even more eloquent than the main body of the carefully worded and lucid Report itself. It is a vivid picture of the slow process of exploitation, emasculation and perhaps decimating of a patient and peaceful population."

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* Navajivan Publishing House, Price Rs. 4, Postage etc. As. 14.

CHAPTER VII

EDITORIAL CHARGE OF 'YOUNG INDIA'

I

Carping Criticism — Gandhiji's Attitude

Kumarappa was editing *Young India* off and on whenever Gandhiji and Mahadevbhai were not available. He was a carping critic. His condemnation of the acts of barbarism of officials was too bitter for them to relish.

During the Salt Satyagraha, he exposed the savagery of a few well-educated European Sergeants. A co-worker did not want Kumarappa to condemn them outright. But Kumarappa did not think he should spare them. So condemnation appeared as usual in the same vigorous form.

The co-worker was offended and wrote to Gandhiji regarding this incident. Gandhiji replied humorously, " Kumarappa hails from Madras. Madras is famous for its chillies, which are in Kumarappa's blood. How can we get the pungency out of his system ? "

The press where *Young India* was printed was confiscated by the Government. The Government thought that thereafter the paper would automatically close down. But it did not. Kumarappa published it in cyclostyled form. The co-worker had difference of opinion in the matter of cyclostyling the paper under the circumstances, and argued that that was not strict non-violence. Kumarappa explained, " My responsibility is to publish news about Satyagraha. If the press is confiscated I have to resort to other methods of getting the news out regularly. I am not interested in merely seeking imprisonment."

The co-worker was not convinced. The matter was referred to Gandhiji who was in jail. He replied in the form of an allegory :

" Suppose you have a cow. She has gone out grazing. The butcher next door has an evil eye on your cow. He comes and asks you, 'Where is the cow ?' What will be your reply ? " Thus Gandhiji made it clear that we owed no duty to help the British police, and Kumarappa discharged his responsibility as editor to the full satisfaction of Gandhiji.

II

The Christian Attitude to Satyagraha

We would like to reproduce here a letter that Kumarappa wrote to the Most Rev. Dr. F. Westcott, Lord Bishop and Metropolitan for India, Calcutta, and which was published in the *Young India* of 26 June, 1930. The Bishop opposed Gandhiji's non-violent fight and he had quoted from the Gospels to prove that Gandhiji's efforts were against the sanctions of the teachings of Christ. Kumarappa ably disproved the contentions and upheld Gandhiji's movement.

The letter runs as follows :

" Dear Bro. Westcott,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 24th April received yesterday. May I say how surprised I was to find you reading me a homily on civil disobedience all through. I never even mentioned the words "civil disobedience" in my letter to you. What I wanted was not that you should support Gandhiji in his political campaign but that you should urge Government

to use non-violent methods. Surely any Christian on either side can do that even while vehemently condemning the other side. I did not for a moment imagine that was too much to be expected of the head of the Anglican Church in India. At present the inhumane methods used by the Government towards the Satyagrahis is unworthy of an opponent like Gandhiji, and no gentleman can countenance it leave alone one who professes to follow Christ. I fail to understand how you could stand aside calmly watching without a word of protest while such brutalities and tortures are being used. This attitude of callousness is tantamount to a denial of our Lord more culpable than that of Peter's; and the only hope is that it may be followed by repentance and more ardent service as in the case of the rugged Apostle.

The next paragraph in my letter does not even refer to the present political situation but only to the application of the principle of non-violence in settling all manner of disputes. You have chosen to ignore this paragraph altogether. Perhaps you do not wish to follow Christ to the extent of non-violence. You will forgive me if I say that most of our missionaries and other leaders of the Christian Church seem to be Britishers first and Christians afterwards if convenient. You remember how during the World War practically every pulpit was turned into a recruiting sergeant's platform and every church service ended with that morbidly narrow nationalistic song, 'God save the King', which embodies the 'tribal God' idea of King David. Christ's teachings were torn from the context and twisted passages were partially quoted to meet their national needs and the flocks committed to their charge were being misled. This is a grave charge which

seems to apply even to you as I shall proceed to show presently. I do not know how far they were consciously guilty. They were themselves products of a civilization based on violence and so were not able to fully appreciate and interpret Christ's clear teaching on this subject. May God forgive them for the mischief they were doing, perhaps with the best of intentions, in this land which holds even plant life sacred. As an individual, I should have hesitated to approach the throne of the Metropolitan for India,—a prince among the prelates of the Church—in this fashion had it not been for the authority of the New Testament ; and on this ground I would crave indulgence for anything that would have otherwise appeared presumptuous in this letter. Since you have yourself raised the question of civil disobedience I have no option left but to deal with your arguments.

Emanating from such an exalted source, the misapplication of scripture incidents and partial quotations contained in your letter in support of your own ideas came as a great shock to me. You refer to the multitude seeking to make Jesus king and you add 'that he might lead them to assert their national independence and secure their freedom from Roman rule. This he absolutely refused to do regarding it as a temptation of the devil to be resisted.' May I refer you to the actual context and passage John VI-14, and 15 which follows on the descriptions of the miracle of feeding of the five thousand men. 'Then those men when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did said, This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world. When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him and make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.'

The prophet they were expecting was the Messiah and the common conception was that he would be a temporal king ; the context suggests clearly that these men were impelled by purely selfish motives—feeding the body. These people wholly misunderstood his mission and his kingdom which was not to be of this world and hence he departed. There is no mention or even room to infer all you say about national independence and freedom from Roman rule and much less anything about Jesus regarding it as a temptation to be resisted. There is no idea of a temptation here at all.

Then later on you proceed to say, "Our Lord exhorted his disciples to obey the Scribes and Pharisees." In other words you allocate to the bureaucracy in India the same place in the political order that the Scribes and Pharisees of old held in the Jewish organization. I am absolutely one with you in this, but I resent your partial quotation calculated to misinterpret Jesus. You omit the first part of his injunction and fail even to refer to the later parts of the chapter. Matt. XXIII, verse 2 says : "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat" and then comes the third verse : "All therefore whatsoever they bid that do and observe." That is in so far as the Scribes and Pharisees are the custodians of Mosaic law, which to the Jew was God-made law or we may term a higher moral law. He wants them to obey this. But he never enjoins them to blind obedience as you will find right through the rest of the chapter one of the strongest condemnations of the Scribes and Pharisees usurping the place rightfully due to the Mosaic or God-given law and prostituting it to suit their own selfish ends and devouring widows' houses. Most of the verses in this chapter begin with

such biting words as "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees hypocrites," "Woe unto you, ye blind guides," "Ye fools and blind", and end up with "Ye serpents, Ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" (And I say, Amen to the bureaucrats of India.) He, again and again exhorted them to "beware of the Scribes and Pharisees." He never advocated blind obedience such as what you imply. He enjoined them to follow the God-given law. In Matt. V repeatedly you have verses beginning with "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time. But I say unto you etc.," and in verse 20, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the Kingdom of Heaven." Surely if they were to follow meekly the Scribes and Pharisees they cannot excel them. He inculcated the pursuit of a higher moral law and said "Fear not them that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

This is enough as far as his precept goes, but let us see what his practice was. Did he himself obey the Scribes and Pharisees in all things even where laws were immoral and anti-social? I need only refer you to the first few verses of Mark III, where you will find a record of his civil disobedience against the law of the Sabbath when he considered its operation anti-social. After spiritedly condemning it and the Scribes and the Pharisees he defiantly broke it by healing the man with a withered hand. His action so enraged the then custodians of 'Law and Order' that the Pharisees 'straightway took counsel with Herodians against him, how they might destroy him.' Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.

Wherever the man-made law has proved to be immoral, as in the case of the Salt Tax, and anti-social, as in the case of the excise policy, the righting process will lead to a disturbance of the peace. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace but a sword." This is a solemn statement from the Prince of Peace. Do we not hear an echo of this last verse in Gandhiji's desire to present the Government of India with a string of broken heads? It is not the physical injury that matters but the fact that a broken head represents the zeal to do away with an immoral law. We hear a great deal of criticism on this much misunderstood statement of Gandhiji.

You appear to have terribly confused ideas of 'Law of Nature' and man-made laws, and attribute the same potency and virtue to both alike. 'Law' in science is but the observed uniform order of sequence and hence the 'fixity' you talk about — until a variation from this uniformity is noticed then even this 'fixity' has to be modified. Therefore even in natural law there is nothing that is 'absolutely reliable' as you so innocently imagine. Man-made laws are only rules laid down for the regulation of society and as no man is infallible — I am not sure what you think of the Pope — some of those regulations may be totally immoral or anti-social. Then what is our duty towards these? The example of Christ urges us to rise to that which is our highest light irrespective of consequences.

You accuse the people for taking advantage of the services of the Government. Are these services offered gratis? The way you speak of it one would imagine you were under that impression. Do you not realize even at this late hour that the very blood is squeezed out of the Indian peasant by way of taxes? Even if I

grant, for argument's sake, that the service we get is desirable, is there no idea of adequacy of payment ? I am sure you will be the last one to justify the late war on the score that it called forth some heroism occasionally. Surely the price was too heavy to pay. This is one of the basis of contention of the Satyagrahis. According to you it would seem that the Government exists that the people might obey it. Man is made for the Sabbath theory — a most pernicious way to look at the relationship — you cannot get anywhere with such ideas. Instead of Government bending to the will of the people the bureaucracy says, " We will crush them down to accept our mandates." The Indian citizen — indeed if he can be called a citizen and not a slave — is made for maintaining a Government and finally the British trade.

The Scribes and the Pharisees used the law to serve their own ends. Our present day Pharisees are not to be outdone in this. Take for instance ' justice '. This should be no respecter of persons. Yet Gandhiji and innumerable other Satyagrahis are free while the Government picks and chooses whom they may devour. Law is at present the faithful handmaiden of the executive to carry out its will. Government is there to maintain ' Law and Order ' but the law is there to maintain the Government. Is this not an anti-social state of affairs ?

To summarize the present movement in India, the Satyagrahis feel the anti-social nature of the whole system — salt tax, liquor sales etc., and realizing that at present man is made to be taxed they are breaking such laws as are immoral (which question you conveniently refuse to discuss) not fearing them that can destroy the body by torture, machine guns and other

accessories of 'civilization' and the Pharisees — the bureaucrats — are taking counsel with Herodias — Whitehall — as to how they may destroy the greatest apostle of Christ to India — not the kind that says, 'Lord Lord' but one that doeth the will of the Father, the same that Jesus owns to be his brother, sister and mother. You may ask how could I accuse Government of seeking to destroy him while he has been left unmolested. I have not seen Gandhiji since the campaign started but I know that the brutalities perpetrated on one of the least of the people will be an immeasurably greater torture to him than any that his hundred pounds of human flesh can be submitted to. The Satyagrahis follow Christ even to the court of the present day Pilates, who rather than do justice and resign, stick to their posts and carry out the wishes of the powers that be. The Satyagrahis take no part in the proceedings even as Christ refrained. "Then said Pilate unto him 'hearest thou not how many things they witness against thee?' and he answered him never a word; in so much that the Governor marvelled greatly."

Western civilization brings formalities even between Christians. Formerly I addressed you 'Dear Dr. Westcott' and signed myself, 'Yours sincerely', but you begin 'My dear Sir' and end 'Yours faithfully'; but you will allow me to follow Matt. XXIII-8 and address you 'Brother' and sign myself, Yours Fraternally,

J. C. Kumarappa."

Articles of Kumarappa were receiving wide publicity. Many newspapers and weekly journals took the privilege of publishing his writings regularly.

Kumarappa was becoming a popular nationalist and many invited him to address them in public meetings. During these country-wide tours, Kumarappa gained a first-hand knowledge of the Indian countryside in all its aspects. The problem of reconstructing and revitalizing them had begun to face him. He had found that economic betterment of the masses should get priority over all other considerations. Many of his speeches and writings were compiled into a book — *The Philosophy of the Village Movement* ? This firm conviction was one of the reasons for his being made later the organizer and secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association when it was to be formed by him under Gandhiji's guidance.

Many Christians, including Bishop Westcott, quoted to Kumarappa the statement of Jesus " Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's ; and unto God the things that are God's " as being against civil disobedience to Government and as being directed against any non-payment of taxes. In reply Kumarappa wrote :

" This passage is much misunderstood as it is torn from context. It is proper to remind ourselves of the circumstances under which this was uttered. It is recorded that " the chief priests and the scribes watched him and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men that might take hold of his words so that they might deliver him into the power and authority of the governor. These men asked, ' Master, is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar or no ? ' But he perceived their craftiness and said unto them, " Why tempt ye me ? " and then made this statement.

He cleverly got out of the net. The Jews were

under a Roman Governor then; so public opinion would have gone against him if he had given a direct positive answer and if the reply had been a simple negative, as they presumed it would be, he would have been accused of treason by the foreign government. He was thus placed in a dilemma. So he answered the question by a conundrum which when analysed would mean, 'The universe and all that in it is has been created by God including Caesar himself. Therefore all belong to God. Caesar himself is a creation, like any other worm, and so even he belongs to God. Hence if you render unto God the things that are God's what is left? Nothing. So nothing goes to Caesar. Hence Caesar gets nothing.' The question fired at Jesus makes no mention of God. But Jesus in his answer, drags Him in to protect himself. And the record says, " And they could not take hold of his words before the people; and they marvelled at his answer and held their peace." This discloses that the inference that the present day churches wish to draw from this statement in support of the State is wholly wrong. In short it means, " Our loyalty to the State is subject to our devotion to God."

CHAPTER VIII

WITH A RUDE INDIAN CIVIL SERVANT

In 1930, Kumarappa had the 'honour of an interview' with no less a personage than a British District Collector and before bringing their discussion to a close, he placed before the Collector the memorandum written in the third person by the Collector's clerk in reply to the former's letter asking for an interview. The following dialogue then took place :

Collector : (Looking at the memorandum): Oh ! This is quite all right. There is nothing discourteous in this. This is the usual form in this office.

Kumarappa : I am very surprised to hear that. No business man would ever dream of writing such a letter.

C. This office does not follow business practice.

K. I realize that only too well. It is a pity and a sad confession.

C. They follow the same form in the military office too.

K. I never realized I was a soldier nor that the Government of India was in military occupation of this country. No one will ever think of going to a military department to learn manners. Though one may not expect civility from a military officer, is it too much to expect a 'Civilian' to be civil ?

C. I maintain there is nothing wrong in this and I do not feel there is any discourtesy involved in sending a memorandum.

K. Are you perfectly certain of it ?

C. Yes.

K. Then, if it is all the same to you, you will only get memoranda from me in future.

C. Well, I do not mind; but we have never received memoranda from the public.

K. Neither have I received any from officials' clerks. I have had dealings with the Government both in England and in Bombay, but never before with a mofussil officer used to riding roughshod over ignorant villagers.

C. Their not doing it in England does not mean it is wrong for us to do so.

K. I suppose you have been in India long enough to forget the manners of English society. Perhaps you may recollect that this form of memorandum in the third person is usually used in England for maidservants.

C. You know that all formal invitations are issued in the third person and it is considered the proper thing.

K. You also know that all formal invitations must be accepted or declined in the third person. There is reciprocity. A gentleman is expected to reciprocate formality.

C. I am sorry, if you thought we were treating you like a maidservant; even to our Deputy Collector we write in this manner.

K. I should feel insulted if you placed me on the same footing as a Deputy Collector. He is your subordinate. I am not your subordinate. I wish I could get you to understand my attitude. I am a member of the public and you are a public servant. That is the position plainly. I am not asking for a position of equality with you, but I am willing to grant you equality.

C. I assure you there is no discrimination involved.

K. You are not conscious of it. Am I to take it that you make no distinction and send only memoranda to your superior officers also. The Commissioner and the Governor ?

C. We have different forms for them — the official and the demi-official forms.

K. Then your assurance has no meaning at all.

C. This is the first protest of the kind I have had. I shall issue instructions that in future all communications to you should be in official or demi-official form.

K. You will have to be prepared for many more shocks and protests if you people do not wake up soon !

Relating this story to the public, Kumarappa writes in the *Young India* :

" Everywhere else in the world the public servant is made to keep his place, as the tax-payer is his master who pays him. In our country, for over a century, the administrators do not ask for their salaries but just take them by ' certification ' or force if need be. He who controls the purse is the master. When we are only to express pious opinions to an impious Government in our legislative bodies how can we be respected ? We have to get back the purse under our control if we would have our servants obey and respect us.

A few days back, Sir George Rainy told the Legislative Assembly the story of a Scotchman who had a servant. One day, his servant, who had put in 40 years' service, was called by him and asked to leave the service as he was getting too old. The servant replied, " If you don't know you have got a good servant, I know that I have got a good master." How well the

bureaucrats recognize a good master in the Indian public and hope to retain the 'master' even at the point of the sword.

Unfortunately we are not even in the position of the Scotchman who was even allowed to ask his servant to leave. Recently one of the 'masters' was sent to jail for three months for the audacity of 'preparing' to speak (whatever that may mean) against a 'servant's' orders. It is high time God saved us from our highly privileged but 'most obedient servants'."

In India the "civil servants" often prove to be our "rude servants".

CHAPTER IX

A TASTE OF JAIL LIFE

Kumarappa first experienced jail life at Ahmedabad. On the 3rd February, 1931, a warrant of arrest was served on him asking him to show cause why he could not be bound over for good behaviour for one year under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code for causing feeling of disaffection and contempt among the public through the columns of *Young India* against the Government established by law.

Kumarappa stood his trial on the 25th of February. He issued the following statement to the court exposing the false position of the British Rulers :

" Mr. Magistrate,

The order of this court that was served on me on the 3rd instant accuses me of a very grave offence. It is said that I am writing seditious articles in *Young India*, so as to bring into contempt and hatred the Government established by law. If this accusation has

any foundation then I have indeed committed a terrible crime and thus have become a traitor of my motherland, since all loyal citizens are bound to obey the will of the people as expressed in the laws of the country if these are not avowedly immoral. The order requires me to show cause why I should not be asked to furnish security to be of good behaviour for one year. Before giving any reasons I may be allowed to examine the accusation against me.

For reasons to be explained later, I have no desire to take part in the proceedings of this court, further than submitting this statement.

What is the actual status of the Government of India in India? A despotism can never command devotion from its subjects. There will be only obedience from fear of a strong arm. Only a Government which is founded on the will of the people over which it rules can be said to be "A Government established by law".

Has the Government of India any claims to be so designed?

The Government of India was established by an Act of the Parliament of Great Britain and the British Parliament represents the will of the British people and therefore it can function legally only in London and not in Peking, Timbuctoo or Delhi in which places it becomes an illegal association. The Indian people owe to such a Government no more allegiance than the man in the moon. Thus as there is no basis for affection, I cannot be guilty of spreading disaffection.

As regards the accusation that I am creating feeling of contempt, I am afraid you are wrongly informed. If there is contempt for the Government it is not I who has generated it but the authorized agents of

this very Government. As long as the public is able to react in a human manner what kind of feelings would they have, I should like to ask, when the public sees hefty sergeants chasing little boys to snatch a piece of paper or their Khadi caps, or when they witness the unchivalrous acts of high officials, " the flower of the British Universities ", camped near Borsad so as to organize a campaign against old ladies like Gangabehn and young girls like Lilavatibehn, as well as their attempt to justify their actions by untruth? Can these actions generate any feeling other than that of contempt for the Government they represent? If the present system of Government is looked down upon, you will permit me, Sir, to say that it is not my fault but that of its own trusted servants who have done everything to create disaffection. May I respectfully submit that the Magistrate would do well to ask men like Mr. G. H. Garret, Commissioner for the Northern Division, and Mr. A. Master, Collector of Kheda district, to show cause why they should not be bound over to be of good behaviour for a year and to ask Sir Leslie Wilson, (Governor of Bombay), to desist from spreading disaffection. Can one expect love to follow lathis? A saint like Gandhiji may indeed kiss the hand that smites him but is it not too much to expect that of the general public? I am sure you too will agree that a lathi is not the best way to cultivate affection for the Government !!

Now a word in regard to your jurisdiction. As the present Government of India is an usurper of the rights of the people and the 'laws' of such a Government are at best merely a mandate of the executive, or firmans masked as laws since the legislatures are powerless to pass bills against the wishes of the executive,

you, who serve such a system, have no share in the sovereignty of the people. You are only an arm of the executive and therefore you have no jurisdiction over me. So it is that I am not obliged to take part in this farce of legal proceedings.

As to the judgment that you will be pleased to pass on me I do not wish to insult you by asking for any special terms as I know in such cases the Magistrate's duty consists in merely carrying out the orders of the executive officers. I have no doubt you have received your instructions and I shall be glad to hear it in due course.

In this connection may I express the hope that the day may not be far off when you, as a Magistrate, will realize the degrading position in which you are and when you will renounce your share of the booty this Government extracts as taxes from the poor. I earnestly beseech you, Sir, to sever your relations with this soulless machine, that is drinking the blood of your own people, and descend from the usurper's throne, which you occupy now, and stand by the side of your own people in their time of need. Can it be the wail and travails of your people have not reached you? Their prayers will not remain unanswered. We wait, and I know we shall not wait in vain.

In short, if a Magistrate representing the people of the country had charged me with the accusation made just now, I should feel myself a traitor and should curse the day I was born. But as matters stand I am proud to be accused of what is but a cry of warning to my people to make them aware of the danger around them and point out the thief in their midst. Should I act otherwise, I shall be failing in my duty as a loyal citizen who loves the country that gave him

birth. There is no love for the usurper that could be converted into disaffection and no honour that could be converted into contempt. Since this illegal Government has no root in the people I should regard it a treason to give a bond to such a Government. Under these circumstances, Sir, you will admit that there can be no question of giving any security at all and your notice cannot affect me as you derive your power as a Magistrate from the British Parliament which is neither the natural nor the national legislature of my people."

Kumarappa was sentenced to undergo one year and six months' rigorous imprisonment.

After coming out of jail, Gandhiji saw this statement of Kumarappa after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and remarked, "Who, who had read the above statement to the court, would say that he did not deserve what he got?"

A Friendly Magistrate

The trying Magistrate personally was a good nationally minded man but he was part of a huge soulless machine. He was hearing the statement with his head down supported in his hands. Hearing of the case finished at 3 p.m. The jail van was to come only at 5-30 p.m. to pick up the prisoners. Till then he did not want to keep Kumarappa in the court confinement. He invited Kumarappa to tea and made him rest in his chamber.

Friends, who had flocked in great numbers to see Kumarappa off came crowding into the Magistrate's chamber. The Magistrate arranged to have every one served with light refreshments and tea.

At last the jail van came and took away

Kumarappa from this human world to a world where human beings were treated no better than beasts.

CHAPTER X

AT IT AGAIN

In March, 1931 he came out of jail after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. At the Karachi Congress which met that year, a Select Committee with Shri Kumarappa as the Convener was appointed to go into the details of the financial obligations between Great Britain and India up to that time. Kumarappa's *Public Finance and Our Poverty* was proof enough of his mastery of the subject. "He was chosen for this particular task for his accurate knowledge of economics and his aptitude for research work," wrote Gandhiji in his paper.

Prof. Kumarappa — as this great research worker in the field of economics was generally called — had a hard task before him. The Committee was working at great pressure, for every moment they were expecting that the Government may put an end to this work by arresting the members. The Committee had been asked to carry out a scrutiny into the financial obligations between the East India Company, the British Government in India and the so-called public debt of India and to report on the obligations, which should, in future, be borne by either India or by Great Britain. They were requested to present their report within two months! The report went into two volumes and was presented to the then President of the Congress, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. In August when Gandhiji went to the Round Table Conference, referring to this report in a speech there he said, "I have in my hands

a report prepared by fair and impartial men, two of them Ex-Advocate-Generals of the Bombay High Court — I mean Messrs. D. N. Bahadurji and Bhulabhai Desai. The third examiner-member of this Committee is Prof. K. T. Shah, for a long time Professor in the University of Bombay, a man having an All-India reputation and author of valuable books on Indian Economics. The fourth member of the Committee is Mr. Kumarappa who holds European degrees and whose opinions on finance command considerable acceptance and influence. These four gentlemen have submitted an elaborate report in which they, as I hold, make out a conclusive case for an impartial enquiry and they show that many of the obligations do not really belong to India."

This Committee pointed out that expenses for wars that had no connection whatsoever with India were charged to India's accounts. Soldiers taken from India were at her expense and those foreign soldiers brought to India were also paid from Indian funds. All these falsified accounts put together gave an aggregate of over 1,805.5 crores of rupees to be realized from Great Britain.

The Committee came to the conclusion :

"The history of the British occupation of India, since the East India Company acquired political power, is a history of ever growing material gain in wealth and prestige to Great Britain. On the other hand, the result to India has been that the Indian industries were destroyed or suppressed and India has become a market for the manufactures and other products of Great Britain. Without the growth of that market and the use of India's wealth in her efforts to develop her

industries, Britain's present position would never have been anything like what it has grown to. India has also provided a vast field for the employment of Britishers in all grades of civil and military service and even if the salaries and pensions paid were totalled up, the figure would be colossal. In addition to her actual material gain, her growth as a great world power was mainly due to her possession of India. These facts by themselves should be sufficient reasons for transference of all existing liabilities by way of public debts from the shoulders of India to those of Great Britain, from every moral and equitable point of view."

They draw attention to the following erroneous charges :

Year	Subject of Claim	Amount in Crores	
Prior to 1857	External Wars of the Company	35.000	
	Interest on Company's Capital	15.120	
			50.120
1857	Cost of the 'Mutiny'		40.000
1874	Interest on Company's Capital	10.080	
	Redemption of the capital stock of the East India Company	12.000	
			22.080
1857–1900	Cost of External Wars	37.500	
1914–1920	European War Gift	189.000	
	,, ,, Cost	170.700	
			397.200
1857–1931	Miscellaneous Charges	20.000	
	In Respect of Burma	82.000	
			102.000
1916–1921	Reverse Council Losses		35.000
	Premium paid to Railway Companies on acquisition by the State		50.000
1916–1921	Cost of Strategic Railways		33.000
		Crores	729.400

Then Kumarappa added two more notes to the report on some Imperial charges amounting to 1076.1 crores, thus making the total erroneous charges, according to him, 1,805.5 crores.

The repercussion of the report on the financial markets was so great and widespread that it affected the London markets adversely at the time of its publication.

Again Editor of Young India

When Gandhiji and Mahadevbhai had gone to England for the Round Table Conference, Kumarappa had again to assume editorship of *Young India.* This was instrumental in sending Kumarappa to jail a second time in his life. This time he was given two years and six months' rigorous imprisonment.

His statement to the court made fun of the self-contradictory orders of the Magistrate as under :

" Mr. Magistrate,

I have received an order over the signature and seal of the District Magistrate, which is impossible of fulfilment. I will state the directions given to me, beginning with the last.

1. I am asked to remain in my residence between 8 p.m. and sunrise.

Perhaps the D. M. knows that my residence, the Gujarat Vidyapith, is under police custody !

2. I am directed not to proceed beyond the municipal limits of Ahmedabad city.

As Ahmedabad city is not my place of residence, I should like to know how I can fulfil the previous order without breaking this !

3. I am required to report myself at the Gaikwad's Haveli.

For this again I shall have to break the order about leaving the municipal limits!

4. The next one is the height of absurdity. I am expected not to further the Civil Disobedience Movement directly or indirectly, by any act, word or gesture.

About a year ago, I gave my views as to the jurisdiction of this court which does not derive its authority from the people of the land and which has all the powers of a tyrant. I said then that it was a piece of impertinence for such a court to order a citizen about. When I need the advice of a Magistrate who is capable of giving conflicting orders, as shown above, I shall invite it. In the meanwhile, may I state that every breath we breathe is calculated to put an end to the present system of administration? Under these circumstances, it is impossible for any self-respecting citizen whose soul is not quite so dead, to sit still and watch the stalking of lawless law through the land without doing his duty to his motherland.

At the present moment, I am in your power and I invite you to do whatever you wish, but I assure you that the present repressive policy will only alienate all the more, the people from the Government."

In a message to Birmingham Indians, Gandhiji asked them to put their talents in the service of the country instead of converting them into £. Sh. d. and while answering a question of a Chartered Accountant there, he said, "Do what Kumarappa, also a professional accountant like you, is doing."

Kumarappa served his term in the Central Jail at Nasik. The following episode will shed an interesting sidelight on jail life.

For days some whisperings were going on between some valued friends and Shri Joachim Alva, later editor of *The Forum* and now an M.P., who were all co-prisoners of Kumarappa at the Nasik Road Central Prison. After a few days Shri Alva told Kumarappa that it was all about an incident that happened in the Hospital Ward of the jail, which he had witnessed from his cell.

A criminal prisoner, a *dhobi,* was suspected by the warders of having stolen their bunch of keys. So he was hung up by his hands on a tree after all the other prisoners had been locked up for the night. He was beaten soundly. Then they hung him up by his feet and flogged him again to extract a confession from him. Shri Alva was not clear as to what his duty was. The *dhobi* was a non-political. So whether political prisoners should take cognisance of this act and report the matter to higher authorities or should they hush up the matter ? In a jail, reporting to the authorities may bring punishment to the reporters also. The consultants of Shri Alva advised him against reporting, but suggested that an apology might be taken from the warders and if the *dhobi* was satisfied the matter may be dropped. This course was followed but Shri Alva was not satisfied. Hence he approached Kumarappa to find out if the way taken was right.

Kumarappa gave his opinion that a Satyagrahi's acts should follow truth without fear of consequences. It should make little difference that the injured was a criminal or a political prisoner. He was a human being and therefore a brother. Any inhuman treatment should be protested against.

Though the matter was considered closed with an apology, Kumarappa pointed out that an injustice

cannot be set right by wrong methods. The decision taken was made on the exigencies of the situation on political grounds, but he should not rest until a moral approach was made.

A few days after this, the jail was visited officially by a committee consisting of the Sessions Judge, the Collector and the Civil Surgeon. As they went past Kumarappa's cell he greeted them. The Sessions Judge returned the greeting and stopped. The following conversation took place :

K. Would you like to hear an interesting story ?

S. J. A story in jail ?

K. Yes. A *dhobi* was hung up on a tree in the Hospital Ward by his hands and beaten and then to balance things he was hung by his ankles and flogged again. I won't detain you any longer. You may get further details from the Superintendent.

S. J. Oh ! How interesting !

With this they marched back to the Superintendent's office without visiting the rest of the jail.

Then an enquiry followed and punishments were meted out to the warders. Shri Alva was reduced from 'B' class to 'C' and transferred to Yeravda Jail for reporting what he had seen.

* * *

Gandhiji's speeches at the Round Table Conference were appearing periodically in the *Young India*. These were later collected and published as the *Nation's Voice* * edited jointly by Shri C. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa.

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*Navajivan Publishing House, Price Rs. 3-0-0, Postage etc. Re. 1-0-0.

PART III

THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORKER

CHAPTER XI

BIHAR EARTHQUAKE RELIEF

As soon as Kumarappa was released from jail, work was waiting for him. The great disaster that swept Bihar in the beginning of 1934 is still fresh in our minds. Relief work had to be administered. Babu Rajendra Prasad had to bear the whole burden of this work. Gandhiji wanted Sheth Jamnalalji to assist Babu Rajendra Prasad by being the treasurer of the Relief Fund. Jamnalalji asked for the help of Kumarappa as Financial Adviser and he was immediately asked to proceed to Patna.

It will be in place here to consider what Dr. Rajendra Prasad had written about Kumarappaji. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had devoted 3 chapters in his Autobiography to explain the work done for Earthquake Relief. In one chapter he dealt at length with the work of Kumarappa. A free rendering into English from Hindi is as under:

"It will be difficult to enumerate all those men and women who had come from outside. It will be a shame to let slip even a single name. But there are certain names which it will be ungrateful not to mention, and the name of Shri J. C. Kumarappa is one such. He used to look after the auditing of accounts. He had learnt that in England and was auditing the accounts of big firms in Bombay. After coming into contact with Gandhiji he left this lucrative practice, and joined the Gujarat Vidyapith. When the Congress appointed a committee to go into the financial obligations between Great Britain and India he was a

member thereof. Gandhiji had himself sent Shri J. C. Kumarappa for auditing the accounts. It will be no exaggeration to say that had he not come here and organized the accounts in a thorough going manner we would have been landed in difficulties. We had no less than 2,000 workers spread over 12 districts and only a few of them had any idea of keeping accounts. There were various kinds of work and separate accounts had to be kept for each. The work had taken such vast proportions that it was difficult to manage it. But when Shri Kumarappaji's method was adopted everything was all right. When the people showed enthusiasm beyond all expectations and money began to pour in, I was afraid that the public may feel that their confidence was misplaced. But thanks to Shri Kumarappa and the band of workers under him the work could be carried on to a successful termination.

I had appointed a local bank as our cashier. Everyday more than 200 or 300 money orders were received. Parcels containing all sorts of articles were pouring in everyday. Besides other remittances were received either by us direct or by the bank. All these had to be accounted for differently.

In the Relief Centres money and these articles were distributed. All these accounts had to be maintained by the central office. A few days after I took up responsibility, I published a report of work. To this I appended a list of donors. This list alone exceeded 400 printed pages. After this report was out, I appealed to the public to inform me if any names of donors had been omitted, I got about 10 or 12 replies to this appeal. The names that were said to have been omitted were not exactly omitted, but printed under

some other provinces or States. After seeing this I was wonderstruck at the meticulous way in which our accounts had been maintained. . . .

Accounting is an important item of public work. That is why I have dealt at length about this matter. Rumours easily float and good workers fall under suspicion of mishandling the funds in the absence of proper accounts to prove their innocence.

We are grateful to Kumarappaji for his timely help. I can now say with all confidence that the articles and the funds that were sent to us for relief work were received and distributed in the most appropriate manner."

In that one year, the Bihar Central Relief Committee had to handle over 36 lakhs of rupees in donations.

In the Central Assembly, one member remarked that the funds of the Bihar Central Earthquake Relief work were loosely spent by Dr. Prasad. Shri Bhulabhai Desai, the then leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, challenged the member to prove his charges and placed on the table of the House a set of neatly bound and audited printed accounts of the Relief Committee. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was overwhelmed with a feeling of satisfaction at the sincere work done by Kumarappa and remarked, "Kumarappa has really saved the honour of Bihar."

CHAPTER XII

IS THIS HE?

We saw already that the call to Kumarappa to take up the responsibility of organizing relief work was so sudden that there was no time left to attend to even personal work. In the jail, Kumarappa developed some trouble in his knees. This was due to the practice he started in sitting and squatting on the floor in the Indian fashion.

Therefore soon after his release from jail he was sent for treatment to Bombay. During the time he was in jail all his Khadi clothes were under the careless custody of the superintendent. Rats, and insects had left their marks on those clothes. Kumarappa was in these tattered clothes. The wire to proceed to Patna came unexpectedly and hence there was no time to order for clothes. So Kumarappa reached Patna in these tattered Khadi clothes.

Even before Kumarappa reached Patna, the Relief Fund had accumulated donations amounting to 19 lakhs. All this was deposited in a small bank in Patna. It was not wise to deposit such large amounts in very small banks. Kumarappa wanted that accounts should be opened in the local Imperial Bank. A cheque for 19 lakhs was placed in his hands and he was to do the needful. With this cheque and with the same tattered Khadi clothes, Kumarappa reached the Imperial Bank and said that he had come to meet the Agent. The peons could not believe him. They looked at him and at his tattered Khadi clothes and were wondering what they should do. They later took him

to one of the clerks. The clerk wanted to know what his business was. When he got the reply that an account had to be opened, he informed Kumarappa that the least amount to open an account was Rs. 200/-, Kumarappa replied, "I may be able to manage it!"

Then the clerk took his business visiting card and sent it on to the Agent. The Agent was an Englishman. Seeing that the visitor was a qualified F.S.A.A. of London he ordered to lead him in at once. Kumarappa entered. The Agent was writing. He noticed through the corner of his spectacles someone entering in with old clothes. He did not want to be disturbed. Kumarappa waited for a time and began, "I have sent in my card." The Agent looked up at Kumarappa and said, "I did not get your card." Kumarappa pointed to the card lying just in front of him and said that was his. The Agent was shocked! He had never imagined to meet a qualified F.S.A.A. in such tattered clothes. He got up, shook hands and offered him a seat and began discussing. Kumarappa gave him the draft for 19 lakhs and asked him to open accounts for the Relief Committee. He did the needful. Later they discussed ways and means of getting special concession and treatment for the Relief work funds. The Agent agreed to the necessity for giving this humanitarian work special concessions. Thus in the end, by way of the bank charges alone the committee saved some twenty thousand rupees.

The Agent was all the more attracted to Kumarappa when he said that he had come there to do honorary work. He also explained the reasons why he was in such tattered clothes and took leave of the

Agent. The Agent came to the car to see him off. The clerks and the peons were astounded at the courtesy of the Agent to this beggar !

CHAPTER XIII

A STERN DISCIPLINARIAN

Strict Rules and Regulations

Biharis are soft-hearted. They are overkind towards public workers. The workers were misusing this kindness. Kumarappa wanted uniformity in treatment ; else it was impossible to regulate expenses. He laid down that annas three will be allowed as the maximum food expenses per head per day. The kitchen was organized and managed within this limit. He himself was messing in the same kitchen.

For using the motor cars also he had laid similar hard and fast rules. Once Gandhiji came to Patna to attend a committee meeting of the Relief Fund. His retinue wanted all sorts of food-stuffs like milk, fruits, vegetables etc. which went beyond the three anna limit. Kumarappa explained to Mahadevbhai his difficulty in paying these expenses of Gandhiji's party from out of the Relief Funds. He also told Mahadevbhai that it will be greatly helpful if he can make his own arrangements for petrol for Gandhiji's party.

The matter reached Gandhiji's ears. He called Kumarappa and said that he had come this time exclusively for the committee's work, and asked on what grounds he refused meeting his bills. Kumarappa explained the austerity rules he had laid down to

maintain uniformity in spending public donations and was averse to making exceptions. This Gandhiji understood and ordered Mahadevbhai not to present any bills to the committee.

Kumarappa was very strict in accounts. One night he wanted to count the cash. The cash was found short. He asked the cashier for an explanation. After much hesitation, it was stated that advances had been made to sufferers by one of the trustees of the Fund. There was no voucher and nothing on record to warrant this action. Kumarappa informed Dr. Rajendra Prasad and asked him to call that trustee immediately to make good the deficit and remove his name off the list of trustees.

Dr. Prasad did not think it would be wise to pursue this course which he thought was too severe. He wired to Gandhiji enquiring what was to be done. Gandhiji wired back immediately, "Do as recommended by Kumarappa." This was done and the organization was toned up.

On one occasion Gandhiji wired to Kumarappa that he was coming to Patna to consult him. Gandhiji arrived at Patna at about 10 p.m. one evening and asked Babu Rajendra Prasad to inform Kumarappa. Rajen Babu told Gandhiji, "There is a difference of a few annas in the Relief Committee's Annual Accounts. The Auditors had not found the error, the annual meeting is on the following day and so Kumarappa has shut himself up in a room with two young men and is working all night until the error is traced. When he works like that he is like a lion and no one dare disturb him." Gandhiji said, "All right, leave him alone. I shall tackle him in the morning." In the morning as Kumarappa was about his ablutions Gandhiji saw him

and asked for an appointment. Kumarappa replied, "Not today but perhaps tomorrow." Gandhiji said, "But I am going away tonight to Wardha." Kumarappa replied, "Then it is simple, you go away without seeing me." Gandhiji said, "I have come all the way from Banaras and you won't give me time?" Kumarappa answered, "But you had not taken an appointment with me. If I were free I would go all the way to Timbuctoo to see you but I am frightfully busy today with the Relief Committee's annual meeting. Then Gandhiji instructed Mahadevbhai to leave certain papers to be perused by Kumarappa and promised to send a wire after his Harijan fast at Wardha and left. After a fortnight Kumarappa went to Wardha to see him on that business.

Being a man of strict principles he seldom, if ever, tolerated breaking of a rule. This quality had won him the pet name "Colonel Sahib" in Gandhiji's inner circle. The late Mahadevbhai used to address him thus, for he himself several times fell a victim of his strictures while living in Maganwadi with Gandhiji, when Sevagram was still a dream.

Many a time he did not spare Gandhiji even. Once a distilling retort was borrowed by the Sevagram Ashram from Maganwadi. When it came back, it was found to have been used rather carelessly and was not in working order. The secretary sent in a note requesting full costs to be paid and the apparatus taken back. Gandhiji consented, undertook the responsibility and offered to pay the full price himself. Only the cost of repair was later debited to the Ashram account, but that taught a lesson to those who had misused it.

There are many incidents where even big personalities like ministers and public leaders were made to conform to the common rule. His daily life is tuned to time and all appointments have to be previously fixed. Strange though it may seem his sisters and brothers when they came to see him in Wardha were allocated particular time for meeting him! There was not a single minute which he might call his own.

One day when the Industries Minister of a newly set up popular ministry came down from Nagpur with other high officials in his retinue to take Kumarappa's advice, he was allotted time at 3 p.m. Not knowing the significance of punctuality of appointments the poor man came late at 5.30 p.m. At this time Kumarappa, after his evening glass of milk — for that was his usual meal along with some fruits like bananas or a papaya — had taken up his walking stick to go for his constitutional. After thoroughly reprimanding the guests for coming late, he allowed them to accompany him, as a special concession, on his five mile walk!

Then again at an Economic Programme Committee meeting Prof. Ranga, Shri Achyut Patwardhan and others had come to Maganwadi. The evening sitting was to begin from 7 p.m. but the honoured guests were held up at a tea party somewhere! They returned at 8.30 p.m. expecting they will have to burn the midnight oil. But they were astonished to find the meeting adjourned promptly at 9 p.m. as the clock had struck 'the hour of sleep'. This Colonel-like strictness in his own life along with the thoroughness of his approach and in the execution of any task he took up, is a great lesson to us who generally show a slackness in regard to time and work.

CHAPTER XIV

FORMATION OF THE ALL INDIA VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

After Bengal partition "Swadeshi" was the slogan of the day. Ordinarily this meant substituting all British goods by Indian made ones. But to Gandhiji Swadeshi had a different meaning altogether. He made a difference between "political" and "genuine" Swadeshi.

"Political Swadeshi" means an artificial barrier imposed by the political divisions of the world on the flow of goods from one place to another. This artificial barrier will only in the end foster wars between countries. It will not contribute towards world peace. Hence Gandhiji felt we need genuine Swadeshi which meant denying to ourselves the enjoyment of goods that are not manufactured with our approval and within our knowledge. Only thus, he held, we shall become fully sensitive to the social repercussions caused by every one of our transactions, and thus pave the way for world peace.

Goods manufactured in Indian mills do not conform to this "genuine Swadeshi" view held by Gandhiji. Hence, he said, we should begin by patronizing only village industries products.

Many a leader did not appreciate this point in Gandhiji's interpretation of Swadeshi. There were long discussions on the subject. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was for patronizing all Indian goods. The "Swadeshi League" with Malaviyaji as President and Shri Lilavati Munshi as Secretary was working to that end.

Gandhiji called for a conference at Banaras. He stressed his point of view on Swadeshi but it was not

acceptable to the other party. The matter was referred to an arbitrator. Both Malaviyaji and Gandhiji agreed to accept Kumarappa as the arbitrator. Kumarappa, after a thorough examination of the whole issue, gave his award in favour of Gandhiji.

In 1934 on the 27th of October the Indian National Congress that met in Bombay took up this matter for discussion. Gandhiji convinced the audience and the following resolution creating the All India Village Industries Association was passed.

> " Whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses, and whereas village reorganization and reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries besides the central industry of hand spinning, and whereas this work, like the reorganization of hand spinning, is possible only through concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, Shri J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorized to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji an association called the All India Village Industries Association as part of the activities of the Congress. . . ."

Kumarappa was made the Organizer and Secretary of the new Association.

Kumarappa saw this news in the daily papers in Patna. His previous consent to work as Organizer was not obtained. He was perplexed and wrote to Gandhiji and asked him what it was that he had done. Gandhiji said, " I agree I made a mistake in not getting your consent in this connection. But what is to be done now ? What has been done has been done. Please begin the work forgetting the omission of formalities."

Later on meeting Gandhiji Kumarappa asked bewildered, "Where are the funds to come from and where are the workers?" at which Gandhiji heartily laughed and said, "As for funds don't bother, you will get whatever is needed; as for workers start with number one" (pointing to Kumarappa himself)! So, there was nothing more to be said.

Kumarappa was relieved of the Bihar Relief work after much of hesitation. The All India Village Industries Association was formed in the upper room of the Mahila Ashram at Wardha on the 14th of December 1934.

The book by J. C. Kumarappa *Why the Village Movement** explains the whole philosophy behind Gandhian economic thought and the work of this Association in particular. Gandhiji wrote a foreword to this book.

CHAPTER XV

THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT

In compliance with this resolution Kumarappa plunged into the work of organizing and training, and undertook propaganda tours throughout the country. Agents were appointed in all parts of the country and members were enrolled. Several certified shops to sell only products of village industries were started in many places. A great wave of enthusiasm for the revival of village industries thus spread in India.

The Growth of Maganwadi

Maganwadi in Wardha became the headquarters

* Published by the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha. Price Rs. 3-8, postage As. 14.

of the All India Village Industries Association. The work of the A.I.V.I.A. fell into five parts: (1) Research, (2) Production, (3) Training, (4) Extension and Organization and (5) Propaganda and Publication. All these items of work were taken up in and from Maganwadi. A Village Industries Laboratory and a Village Industries Museum were established.

Magan Sangrahalaya

The Museum is now known throughout India as the Magan Sangrahalaya and is named after the late Maganlal Gandhi who was one of the pioneers in the Khadi movement. It is full of rare and beautiful exhibits depicting human skill in numerous handicrafts and village industries from all over India and foreign countries.

In it an attempt is made to depict the occupations connected with Khadi and village industries. It was also intended to cover agriculture and art including sculpture and architecture, but the needed buildings have not yet been put up.

Each industry is shown as it is practised from raw materials to the finished goods, including tools used and processes involved. Where any improvements are effected these also are shown. Some of the industries, in actual working, can be seen in the Maganwadi Industries Court — Udyog Bhavan. Where possible working models of the equipment used are procured and exhibited. Also leaflets or pamphlets are kept so that the interested may pursue the subject further.

In addition to these, rare specimens of handicraft, workmanship, art etc. also are displayed. In such cases of course, it is not possible to exhibit raw materials, especially in regard to foreign exhibits and ancient relics.

The whole building was so planned as to include 4 wings and 4 halls. So far only two wings and the main entrance hall have been completed out of the funds available. In planning this, large space has been allowed on the walls for rural pictures, frescoes etc.

We quote the following account from the Sixtieth Birthday Souvenir * about the part played by Kumarappa in the propagation of the Village Movement.

Village Industries Court

A Village Industries Court was then built. This consisted of several departments, each specializing in a village industry and conducting its own production and research work. These departments were those of food processing, oil pressing, bee-keeping, Magan Dipa, soap making, paints and varnish, hand-made paper, toy making, village pottery and palm-gur. Every year students came from different parts of India to be trained in various village industries. A.I.V.I.A. workers and specially Kumarappa went again and again into every part of the country to help local people survey and develop village industries suitable to their places. While Gandhiji himself long remained the dynamic propagandist for village industries, Kumarappa brought to bear on the work of educating the public in the economics of village industries his mind trained and sharpened from his long stay and study in England and in America. Looking at the huge pile of paper cuttings preserved in Maganwadi, it is not difficult to get an idea of the great and pioneering work, Kumarappa did in those early years in the life of the

* Published by the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha under the title *The Economics of Peace*. Price Rs. 10, postage etc. Re. 1-10.

A.I.V.I.A. Every department in Maganwadi produced an authentic volume embodying research and findings in the working of a particular village industry and these were published in English and in Hindi. A monthly journal called *The Gram Udyog Patrika* was started to expound the economics of village industries, to publish reports of work and research and to inspire the people to push on vigorously with the movement. This monthly journal also appeared both in English and in Hindi. Further, Kumarappa produced a number of books dealing with every aspect of rural development. The literature that thus grew up was considerable and thought-provoking. The A.I.V.I.A. publications are now in the hands of thousands of constructive workers engaged in one or the other items of village reconstruction. They have undoubtedly, exercised an abiding influence over the minds of the people in one of the most critical epochs in the history of modern India. As a result of the whole work, there also emerged a new school of economics, which may aptly be called the Economics of Non-violence, inspired by Gandhiji and brilliantly elucidated by Kumarappa.

Growth of the Movement

The Village Industries Movement, like those of Khadi and Harijan emancipation, was born and developed within the long and difficult political struggle for the freedom of India. While it therefore secured wide popular support it was frowned upon by the British rulers and their officials. By turning peoples' minds and will in the direction of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, the Village Industries Movement added strength to the political struggle. When the first Congress Governments were set up in various provinces

the new ministries were in a mood to take up village industries seriously. And Gandhiji was there also to tell them to do so. The A.I.V.I.A. then came into prominence and numerous important meetings were held in Maganwadi attended by ministers and leaders to make plans for pushing up village industries everywhere. Kumarappa had to respond to numerous calls. He surveyed conditions in some of the provinces and drew up reports for their Governments containing concrete suggestions for the development of village industries. The reports which Kumarappa drew up for the Central Provinces and the North-West Frontier Province in 1939 and 1940 will long hold the field for their authenticity on the subject of rural development in those areas.

The situation in regard to village industries can be well understood from what Kumarappa wrote in August 1946. Here is the relevant extract:

> 'The advent of popular ministries, at a time when the country is facing famine and shortage in primary consumption goods, may prove a blessing, provided advantage is taken of the situation to launch a country-wide programme to increase the productivity of the people in selected channels, so as to meet and make good the deficiencies. To be effective such a programme has to be unified throughout the land and well co-ordinated between the provinces. Patch work schemes and isolated attempts will not carry us far. In order to facilitate consultation and discussion between the Cabinets of the various provinces, a conference of ministers was held in Poona on the 31st of July, 1946. A memorandum on Governmental functions had been circulated among the ministers previously. There was discussion on the memorandum. What emerged from the conference has been published in book form under the title *An Overall Plan for Rural Development.* *

* Published by the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha. Price, Re. 1-8-0, postage etc. As. 5.

'Now that the Central Government will also function under the direction of our national leaders, may we hope that this resolve to plan for economic development, starting with the attempt to strengthen the human body with a balanced diet and to provide all primary needs of the people, will materialize in no distant future?

'This approach to planning is both simple and inexpensive. Being broadbased it is calculated to bring relief to the masses in the shortest possible time. This can be the surest method of combating black-marketing, inflation and the ration muddle. The conditions in the country will brook no delay.'

An Overall Plan for Rural Development by Kumarappa is a compact volume containing the charter of freedom and prosperity for the villages. It is now in the hands of all those who have any interest in rural development in India. You will see it on the desks of Cabinet Ministers and in the hands of the humblest constructive worker. It contains a section on "The Need and Nature of Planning", another on "Forms of Industries", a third on "The Overall Plan" and the fourth on "Village Industries". In the Appendix we have the two important resolutions adopted by the All India Ministers' Conference held in Poona in July, 1946. The two resolutions indicate the pace and scope of the movement. They were as follows:

(1) 'That in view of the acute scarcity prevailing in the country, with respect to the primary requirements of the people, especially food and clothing, plans for economic development should centre round the farmer and agriculture, and should be motivated with the object of providing balanced diet, adequate clothing and other articles of primary human need, for every citizen in the land, and that for this purpose, steps have to be taken to ensure that the land available for cultivation is distributed by proper regulation such as licensing between various crops needed by the community and in the required proportion.'

(2) 'That in order to achieve real democracy, it is necessary, to organize contiguous areas — villages or a group of villages — on a self-sufficient and a self-governing basis, through multiple purpose co-operative societies and grain banks which will plan their economic life on a decentralized basis, reducing the need for money economy to a minimum and restricting external trade to proved surpluses.'

Since the adoption of these resolutions some of the Provincial Governments (now State Governments) have set up machinery for rural development. Madras and Bombay have led the way. U.P., Bihar and Orissa have also done some good work in this direction. Constructive work organizations and Ashrams and other institutions have contributed their share in the revival and development of many village industries. But the vast undone compares ill with the little done so far. In other words, the whole plan for rural development yet awaits final fulfilment. Neither the Central nor the State Governments will be able to run away from this task. The case for village industries is not that Gandhiji or Kumarappa or any one else is asking for it, but that the development of village industries is an absolute necessity in a country like India caught up in its present baffling situation. It is a case of a vast and growing population, practically imprisoned within the static boundaries of a country, with little hope of overflowing into any other spaces of the earth and whose problem of problems is to find employment for many millions of unemployed. That the economic development in India should inevitably be largely on a decentralized basis of production, distribution and consumption is one of those basic facts of the situation from which no party or group in India can hope to escape.

The ideology behind the Village Industries Movement and its plans and programmes have already become part of the mental and material landscape in India. What has been achieved already is not to be sniffed at. To give only one example, we might take the case of palm-gur. Nearly three years ago the Government of India set up a Palm-gur Department under the Ministry of Agriculture and borrowed the services of one of the workers of the A.I.V.I.A. as Palm-gur Adviser. Until this work was started there was large-scale Palm-gur making only in the two traditional tracts of Madras and Bengal. But the palms are to be found all over India, more than 50 millions of them, and from them gur can be obtained. The attempt now is to utilize all these palms for producing gur and sugar. Numerous whole-time workers have been trained and put into this work. Palm-gur production bids fair to be one of the biggest rural industries in India giving employment to lakhs of people and adding to the food and nutrition of the whole country.

Under the Central Oilseeds Committee set up by the Government of India, it is possible that a similar attempt may be made in regard to the *ghani* industry, i.e., village oil-pressing. But unlike palm-gur, the *ghani* already exists all over India and requires only some care and organization to become once more one of the major rural industries of India. The A.I.V.I.A. is working in close alliance with the Central Oilseeds Committee for countrywide and systematic organization of the *ghani* industry.

Achievements

The Village Industries Movement under Gandhiji is now two decades old. It would be worthwhile to briefly summarize its achievements, so far. In any

study of these achievements, we must keep in mind what Gandhiji wrote in 1934, soon after the organization was set up. He wrote, 'The Central Board of the A.I.V.I.A. will not be a Board of administration, but only a watch tower for the whole of India giving guidance. We want to avoid centralization of administration, we want centralization of thought, ideas and scientific knowledge.'

To begin with, the Village Industries Laboratory in Maganwadi has done useful research work in oils, soap, Magan Dipa, paints and varnish, etc. But research was not confined only to the Laboratory. Each one of the departments in Maganwadi has carried out some research or other in its own line along with production work. The wood and stone *chakkis* for paddy husking and flour grinding have undergone a number of changes. The present stone *chakki* with its ball-bearing and screw arrangements is a new *chakki* altogether and far more efficient. The most remarkable developments are in the *ghani* department and the latest model — Maganwadi Ghani — has come out as the best in the All-India competition. Equally in the hand-made paper department there are many improvements. The manifolding paper we now make from rags has already won a good name. Similarly there are improvements in the instruments of production in other departments. The bee-keeping department has very nearly succeeded in domesticating the rock-bee which is one of the most difficult things to do. The pottery department has achieved a measure of success in the glazing of ordinary cheap mud pottery and in spreading the technique of the Magan Chula. The Maganwadi bakery has kept alive the idea of whole-meal wheat bread at a time when adulteration of flour has been

raised to the level of an art. The palm-gur department has devised and made popular a small centrifugal hand-machine for making sugar from palm-juice in the home. Kumarappa has opened the Agrarian Research Centre in the Seldoh village. The latest development in Maganwadi however is the conversion of Gram Udyog or Village Industries into Gram Udyog Nai Talim or Rural Adult Education in and through village industries.

The last item deserves further elucidation. The educational revolution initiated by Gandhiji in India is best known as Nai Talim or New Education. The fundamental basis of Nai Talim is education in and through work. The whole of Basic Education is education in and through village handicrafts. It was felt that if work was the best medium of education, then there was in Maganwadi such a rich variety of multi-process work that the whole of it could be utilized for a full-blooded programme of adult education. This has now been done. Candidates are no longer given training merely in village industries, but in adult education in and through village industries. The various processes of production work in the different departments are now correlated to studies in dietetics and nutrition, sanitation and health, geography and history, mathematics and science, economics and sociology, Indian and world cultures, and finally to the concept and practice of Sarvodaya. Candidates trained in Gram Udyog Nai Talim will later open village industries production centres, which would at the same time be centres of adult education. All those who are engaged in productive work will thus be able to earn their living and get their education at the same time, and that right in the village environment. If the

experiment succeeds it might well lead to a revolution in the whole field of rural adult education.

That naturally brings us to the story of the training of workers going on from year to year without a break in Maganwadi. Fifty to sixty workers, on an average, are trained yearly in Maganwadi. Many of them so trained have helped in spreading the message and technique of village industries in many parts of the country. The number of students and workers, who come in for training, has steadily increased. Besides this the teachers and staff in Maganwadi go out often to different parts of the country to train workers in their own areas in *ghani*, palm-gur, bee-keeping, *chakki,* Magan Chula, etc. A number of States got their rural development officers trained in Maganwadi. Recently two smaller editions of Maganwadi have started their own training of workers for village industries in the Madras State, one in Tamilnad and the other in Andhra, and the staff in charge are those trained in Maganwadi. Institutions for village industries in Kerala, Tamilnad, Andhra, Mysore, Orissa, Bihar, Gujarat, Bombay and Punjab have not only drawn inspiration but obtained practical guidance from Maganwadi.

The A.I.V.I.A. publications, nearly 30 in number, as already stated, have helped constructive workers everywhere to understand the significance of village industries and to work them out. Two of the publications particularly, *Why the Village Movement* and the *Economy of Permanence,** both by Kumarappa, have influenced the minds of most of those engaged in the task of village reconstruction in India.

Through his writings and work, Kumarappa has

* In two parts. Price Rs. 2, postage etc. As. 14 for each.

Udyog Bhavan Darwaja

presented the Constructive Programme as an effective alternative to Communism. It will be no exaggeration to say that numerous educated young men and women in the country would have gone over to Communism but for the teachings and work of Kumarappa. Kumarappa has shown that the Constructive Programme, if wholly implemented, can give all that Communism can give to the common masses of the people *plus* something more of great value. In other words, the Constructive Programme can lead to a human society enshrining within itself the values of justice and the values of non-violence at the same time. The Village Industries Movement has thus stood for a great social ideal. It has become the embodiment of the economics of decentralization, for self-sufficiency and of lasting peace. There can be no peace without the economics of peace and it is as a great movement for the economics of peace that the Village Industries Movement stands today.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONGRESS AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

As the policy of the Indian National Congress as regards big industries was not very clear Kumarappa raised the matter with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of the Indian National Congress.

Kumarappa's Enquiry

"I wish to get a clear direction from yourself and the Working Committee on a fundamental issue that affects the very basis of both this Association and the All India Spinners' Association.

The resolution passed at the Karachi Congress in March 1931 with reference to the future Swaraj Government envisaged by the Congress, amongst

other statements, contained this clause, 'the State shall own or control key industries, services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport.'

In July 1934 at Banaras, the Working Committee in dealing with the idea of Swadeshi, apart from stressing the use of Khadi, stated 'activities of Congress organizations relating to Swadeshi shall be restricted to useful articles manufactured in India through cottage and other similar industries' and in giving effect to this, since then all the Exhibitions at the All India Congress sessions have been restricted to Khadi and Village Industries exhibits as allowed by our two Associations. This resolution went on to add, 'large and organized industries are in no need of the service of the Congress organization or of any Congress effort on their behalf.'

The resolution of the Bombay Congress of October 1934 which brought this Association into being, had the preamble, 'whereas organizations claiming to advance Swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village reorganization and reconstruction is one of the items of the constructive programme of the Congress.'

In the light of these we have envisaged that in Swaraj Government all large scale or mass production should be limited to Government-owned or controlled bodies and should not be left to private enterprise. When the industries are planned functionally certain

functions will call for mass production. For instance in pottery, a good deal can be done on cottage basis but glazing and firing kilns may be beyond the means of the individual potter; therefore, such functions should be performed co-operatively or under the Department of Industries.

On the other hand it has been argued by some people that since Presidents of the Congress and Congress Ministers open and bless textile mills, paper mills, sugar mills etc., the Congress also supports large scale industries under private enterprise. If this interpretation is correct then at least a list should be given of such industries where Congress can tolerate large scale industries under private enterprise.

My own submission is wherever there is a conflict between cottage industries and large scale private enterprise the latter have to go overboard.

Kindly let me have a clear direction in this matter."

President's Reply

"The Congress policy regarding industries has been correctly defined in resolutions mentioned by you in your letter. So far as cloth is concerned all competition with Khadi whether from foreign or indigenous sources is to be discouraged. So far as the cottage industries are concerned the same principle will apply as soon as it is possible for the Congress to declare that a particular cottage industry has so far advanced as to be independent of mechanized industry of the class. Meanwhile in regard to such cottage industries as are being sponsored by the Congress through its All India Village Industries Association, it will be the duty of Congressmen and Congress Governments to give them all possible support."

CHAPTER XVII

NAI TALIM

To Gandhiji, Swaraj did not mean merely wresting political power from the hands of the unwilling British but a definite way of life, based on the two eternal principles of Truth and Non-violence. In the economic field, he found hand-spun hand-woven Khadi to be the fitting answer to foreign mill-made textiles which were the embodiments of untruth, and caused bloodshed and inequality in society. Naturally therefore, it followed that all other varieties of village industries articles were to be preferred in the place of the mill-made counterparts.

The philosophy behind Khadi and village industries was unacceptable to the modern educated youth. Their education had filled their minds with ideas that were contrary to the principles of non-violent democracy. The educational method devised by the Britishers was helpful to capitalistic exploitation of societies and nations and hence was based on untruth and violence. Therefore, if Gandhiji's principles of Swaraj were to be put into practice they had to be inculcated and drilled into the minds of our people at an early age. Education under a capitalistic set up is completely different from education under non-violent democracy. In a capitalistic society there is little consideration for moral and spiritual values whereas in the non-violent set up such considerations outweigh material production.

Gandhiji, therefore, thought of reorganizing the educational system in our country. A conference of

eminent educationalists was called to meet in Wardha at the end of 1938. There were detailed discussions. Many appreciated Gandhiji's ideas but others were critical.

In the end a committee was formed to go further into the subject and report about this proposed re-organization. This committee was headed by Dr. Zakir Husain of the Jamia-Milia Islamia, Delhi and Kumarappa was to serve on this committee as a member.

Kumarappa had a definite contribution to make in support of Basic Education. He propounded his theory in an essay on the 'Philosophy of Work'. Work, says Kumarappa, comprises two parts:

1. The hard repetitive labour, and
2. The pleasurable enjoyment of results.

These two parts should always go hand in hand to give expression to personality. The repetitive hard labour may even be 99 per cent of the work while the other may be hardly 1 per cent. Even then, he holds, the hard part of it is necessary to develop self-discipline.

Capitalism and its offspring, imperialism, consider that of these two component parts of work the first part can be done by underdeveloped and less-fortunate people while a few at the top enjoy the fruits of their labour. This basic misconception of work had to be offset and Kumarappa did this ably in his book, pointing out the violence that underlay such separation of the two parts of work, and showing how handicrafts, round which basic education was to be imparted, brought the two parts together, removed exploitation, and helped to develop the personality of the worker.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE RIGHT ATTITUDE OF A SATYAGRAHI

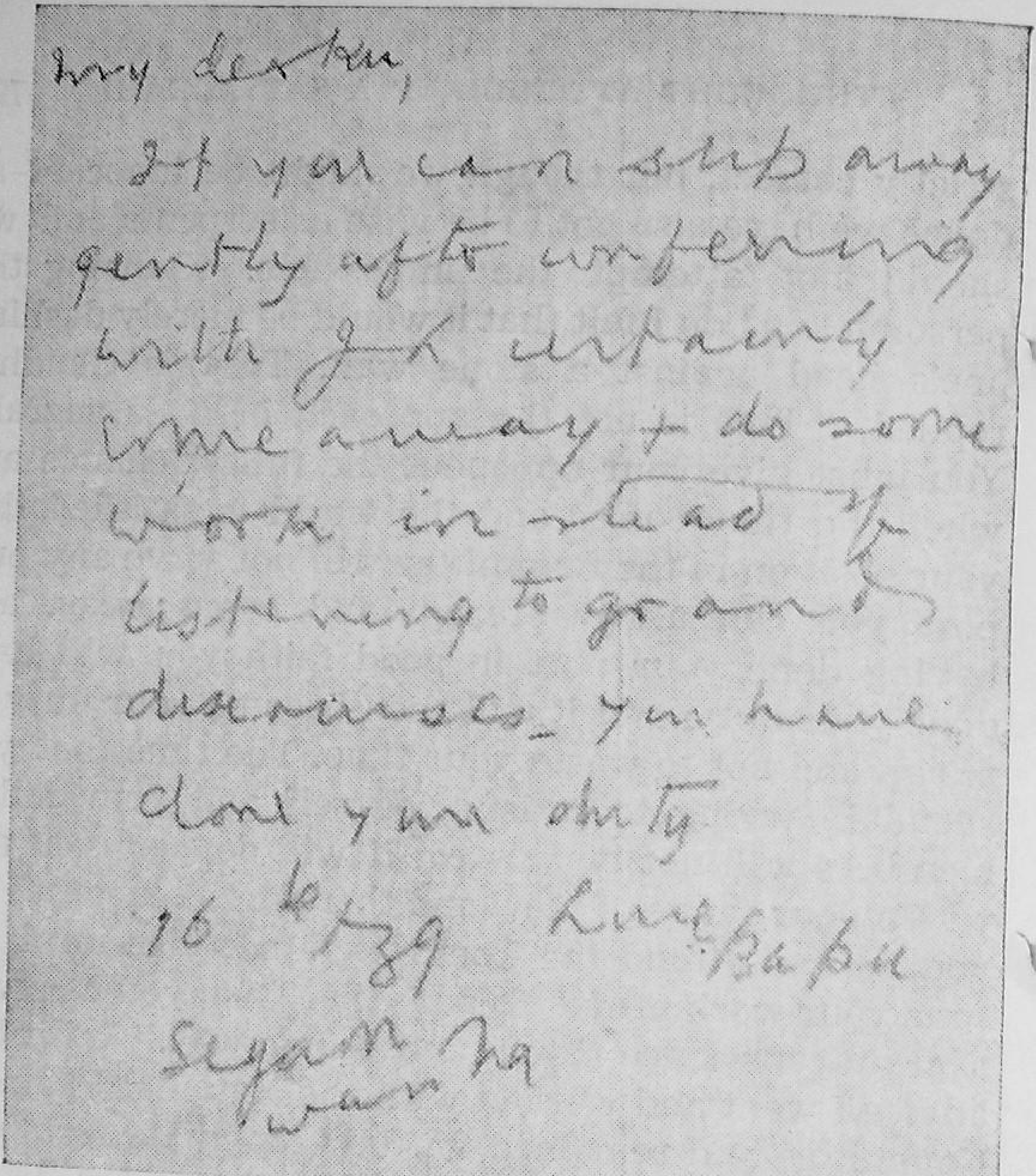
In Kumarappa's words :

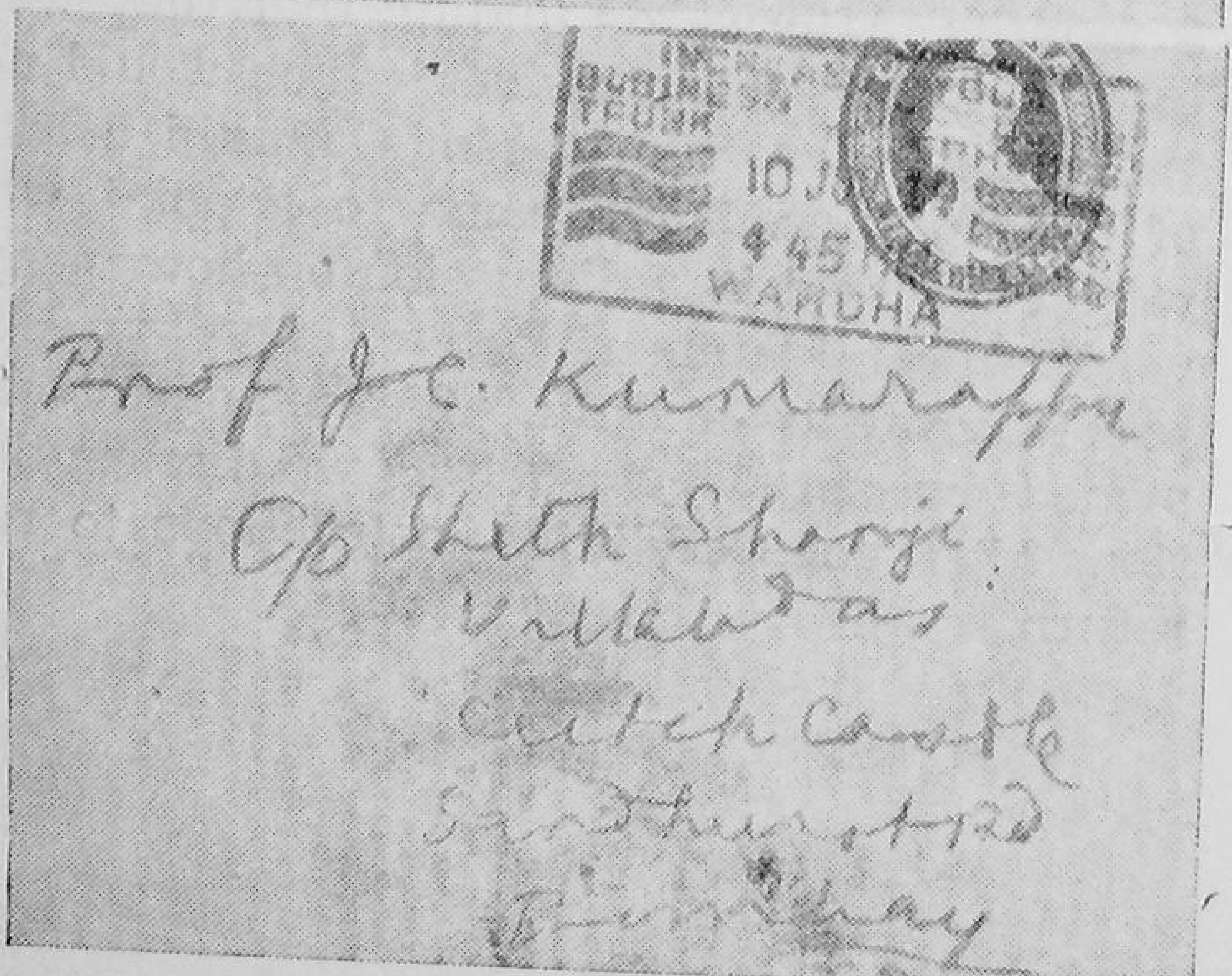
When the National Planning Committee was formed in 1937 by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the then President of the Indian National Congress, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman, I was asked to contribute my share as a member of that Committee. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru invited me to attend its meetings in Bombay. Looking at the personnel of the Committee I was doubtful of any good results, as I found in it all kinds of heterogeneous elements. It included practical industrialists, academic economists, laboratory scientists, men of the world and business magnets. In a group of this nature I felt that all efforts would result in nothing and, therefore, I declined to go and waste my time in endless discussions which would bear no fruit.

On this Jawaharlalji wired to Gandhiji asking him to use his influence in sending me to Bombay. Gandhiji called me for an interview to discuss this subject. I pointed out the reasons why I felt my time would be ill-spent in merely trying to fence with the other interests.

Gandhiji explained that it is inconsistent with the principles of Satyagraha to prejudge our colleagues. He said, " Why do you think that you will not be able to persuade the whole Committee to accept your policy ? This shows a lack of faith in yourself and in your colleagues that they will be open-minded enough to listen to you ! " I replied this view might be

strictly correct, but though we might be innocent as doves we have also got to be wise as serpents and we should not attempt the impossible. Knowing the personnel as I do I felt that it would be merely dashing one's head against a stone wall. To this Gandhiji replied, " This is not the approach of a Satyagrahi. You must give your opponent the fullest chance and when the time comes and the world is satisfied that your position in the Committee will not serve any purpose you can always resign and come away, and having done your part in good faith you will have done your duty, and it will then become your duty to resign and not to waste your time. The time that you spend in trying to satisfy yourself and your fellow members will not be wasted. It will develop you and widen your range of view and therefore, I suggest that you go and attend the Committee meetings until the time your work proves to be futile. Then you can with a clean conscience resign and come away." With this advice I went and worked with the National Planning Committee and remained on the Committee for about 3 months. Afterwards finding that they were driven into all forms of discussions which would not benefit the country I regularly sent Gandhiji marked copies of the minutes. They came to a point where they were engrossed in a discussion on how many men-of-war, cruisers, submarines etc. our navy should possess ! I wrote to Gandhiji, " We cannot call our soul our own. How can slaves such as we discuss these questions ? " I got Gandhiji's instructions to resign and return.


My dear Ku,
If you can slip away gently after conferring with J.C. certainly come away & do some work instead of listening to grand discourses. You have done your duty.
16th 7 39 Love Bapu
Segaon Wardha



Prof J.C. Kumarappa
C/o Sheth Shoorji
Vallabhdas
Cutch Castle
Sandhurst Road
Bombay

My dear Ku,

If you can slip away gently after conferring with J. N. (Jawaharlal Nehru) certainly come away and do some work, instead of listening to grand discourses. You have done your duty.

10-6-'39

Segaon, Wardha

Love

Bapu

Accordingly Kumarappa resigned from the Planning Committee.

CHAPTER XIX

INDUSTRIAL SURVEYS

The Central Provinces (now the Madhya Pradesh) Government formed an Industrial Survey Committee under the Chairmanship of Kumarappa and asked him to indicate methods of improving rural conditions. Kumarappa undertook this task to show how a national programme for our country's uplift should be chalked out.

About 600 villages were surveyed. It was organized during the vacation period. About 20 professors and 200 graduate students joined in response to Kumarappa's appeal. The field work was carried out by these in batches, each batch of twenty students was headed by a Professor. They surveyed by day and moved from village to village by night.

A Picture of Poverty

One night Kumarappa, with his party of students, was passing through a jungle. At a distance they noticed a crouching figure, some surmised it to be a

bear. Some said it was something else. They proceeded towards it cautiously. On nearer view it seemed a human figure. Those with sharp eyes could faintly discern an old woman in rags. They went to her and asked her, " Mother, what are you doing here at this part of the night ? " The old woman, who was herself trembling with fear returned no answer for a while but stared at the boys. These boys told her who they were and what they were doing. This put her at ease and loosened her tongue. She produced the bundle of grass seeds she had in her lap and explained, " I am collecting these grass seeds. I have nothing else to eat. I will collect some dried shrubs and make a fire and cook this and eat to keep the sides of my stomach from sticking to each other." The boys wondered why she should do this at night and not during the day. She explained, " If I come by day the Malguzar's men, or the forest guards, will beat me and so I came by night and when I saw you I thought you were those men come to beat me."

Kumarappa, on his return to headquarters, narrated this incident to the rest of the surveying group and asked them to keep this picture of dire poverty ever before their eyes when they grow up to be planners for the nation because such was the condition we were to grapple with in our country. Do our fatly paid Delhi planners know anything of this ?

Kumarappa omitted to survey the mineral resources — manganese and coal — as he felt that the information obtained thereby would only help the then exploiters and by not broadcasting such facts at the moment we should be reserving this wealth for our country, to be used when it regained independence. But the moment he turned the other way the

Government appointed another committee to complete this planned omission !

In the shortest time and with the minimum expenses the Kumarappa Committee made a remarkable survey and its recommendations were published in four volumes.

Gandhiji was so taken up by the findings of this Committee that he wrote serially half-a-dozen articles in the *Harijan* beginning from 20th May to 29th July 1939 under the caption " An Original Report ". I shall confine myself here to a few quotations from these articles.

"The survey cost was Rs. 3,000/- in round numbers, i.e. Rs. 5/- per village. The whole expense amounted to one-tenth of the estimates. The party travelled third class, but when some members saw during their survey that old women were picking grass seeds for food they declined to draw even the third class fare. The party satisfied itself with such lodgings and food as the villagers had. Nothing was specially prepared for them.

Prof. Kumarappa says to me in a covering note :

'1. Ours is not an *academic survey* where mathematical accuracy is the one goal.

2. Neither is it a *propagandic survey* to gather 'evidence' to prove pre-conceived theories.

3. Nor is it a *clinical survey* to further the knowledge of the science of economics.

4. It is a *diagnostic survey* done in a short time with the set purpose of saving the patient's life by a suitable prescription.

One member of the staff, an M.A. in economics, argued that without detailed statistics it would be impossible to prove whether the villages are poor and are getting poorer.

I took him with me into the villages, showed him the house in disrepair and one three-storied house half fallen down and the goldsmith sitting idle.'

This is no doubt a rough and ready argument. But if most of our villages contain ruins of well-built houses and artisans without occupation, surely the evidence of poverty is more complete and convincing than old statistics which may prove everything or nothing.

The report which is part I of Vol. I contains six chapters. . . .Chapter 2 dealing with general considerations stamps the report as an original document and shows that it is not to be pigeon-holed as most such reports are, but should be given effect to without delay. The only way to do this is, as pointed out in the report, to invite the A.I.S.A. and the A.I.V.I.A. to help the Government to carry out the recommendations.

The survey of 606 villages revealed to the Committee the painful fact that the annual average income of the villager per head was no more than Rs. 12/-. This need not startle the arm-chair scientist who relies for his figures on books and who has been taught to believe that it is anything between Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/-. Both are right from their own standpoints and data. The figure of Rs. 65/- to Rs. 80/- is an all-India average which includes the income of millionaires, middlemen and zamindars. The figure has a purpose of its own. But for the Kumarappa Committee the figure 65 would be wholly false. The figure 12 is accurate and truly scientific. That Committee was concerned with the average income of the villagers only.

This shows that the villages have been criminally neglected in the past. If the Congress Governments

will carry out the professed intention of the Congress, they will reconstruct the lives of the villagers and make them utilize their time so as to supply most of their own wants. As the report points out the Governments have to do two things: 1. To prevent interference with the village economy by preventing foreign goods from entering the villages, and by preventing our own merchants from introducing milled flour, rice, oil etc. These impose idleness on the villagers, and the polished devitalized food products undermine their health. Secondly, and side by side with these preventive measures must go improvements in the methods of conducting the existing industries so as to make them more paying, and introduction of new industries in accordance with the condition of particular villages in regard to raw material. And if the venture is to succeed, the planning will have to include the taking up by the State of the goods produced by the villages not for self-consumption but for sale outside the villages of production.

The Committee has made practical suggestions on all the industries. No summary can do justice to the hints given under each heading. The curious must procure and study it. The Government should issue a cheap and handy edition, and have a translation in Hindustani at least. The report is useful for other provinces also. The Governments in the other provinces should therefore procure copies and instruct their Directors to study and act in the spirit of the report. I hope that the C.P. Government will carry out in full the recommendations made by the Committee."

Later, Kumarappa, was required to make a similar survey of the N.W.F.P. This also he did. The

report was highly appreciated by the then Government.

Sir Mirza Ismail then said in a letter to Kumarappa, "I should like to compliment you on the very lucid manner in which you have dealt with the various questions relating to the industrial development of the Province. You have approached the whole problem in a direct matter-of-fact and eminently practical way."

These extra activities took much of Kumarappa's time and told on his health, and subjected him to high blood pressure.

CHAPTER XX

ON THE PRINCELY ORDER

I

When Kumarappa was on tour in Kathiawad the Maharana of Porbundar expressed to the organizers of the tour his desire to entertain him as his guest. This was agreed to. So Kumarappa was put up at the State Guest House.

When he arrived at the Guest House at about 5 a.m. a train of bearers offered him varieties of wines which of course, he declined. When he went into the bathroom he was confronted with the best of British made towels, soaps and other toilet goods while the equipment was also British being of Doulton Bros., London. He used only his own Maganwadi *sajji matti* soap and Khadi towels ! Then the breakfast table was furnished with Dresden crockery, Sheffield cutlery etc. and laden with British breakfast foods like cornflakes, shreaded wheat, Huntley Palmers biscuits and marmalade.

Later when the Finance Minister called on him, Kumarappa complained about public money being used on foreign goods. He was told that it was due to the orders of the Maharana to treat him as a "most distinguished guest" and so he was put up in the best guest house, ordinarily reserved for the Viceroy or the Commander-in-chief. Hence all these foreign methods of service and equipment. If these were Indian, the visitors' book would bear the remark "catering was not up to the mark".

Kumarappa intended to speak to the Maharana about all this but an opportunity did not present itself while he was at Porbundar.

But after this tour when he got to Bombay he was sent by the Maharana a black woolen Porbundar Chahi blanket embroidered in gold. Kumarappa took this occasion of a letter of thanks to express his views on the Princely order, and their function in society.

We quote from that letter :

"After all our wanderings in Kathiawad and Gujarat we reached here on Sunday. I am writing to thank you for the cordial and generous hospitality we received at Porbundar which seems to have pursued me to Bombay where my brother forwarded to me the beautiful Chahi blanket as a gift from you. I much appreciated this — not only as a favour done but also as a remnant of our old tradition by which it was enjoined on kings and persons of rank and wealth to encourage and patronize neighbouring art, literature and other cultural pursuits. The impact of the West has almost wiped out this noble duty. Such patronage now goes to cheap shoddy western mill-made goods.

I shall be lacking in my duty if I failed to point out that the furnishings, fittings and catering at the

Porbundar Guest House indicated this tendency. Because of the company I did not get an opportunity to mention this to you personally but I did remark about it to your Finance Member who gave as an excuse that these houses are chiefly visited by Europeans who are not likely to appreciate our art etc. This consideration did not appeal to me. When Lord Lothian, Sir Stafford Cripps etc. come here I make them squat on the Dheries in my office as we have no chairs etc. I refuse to shake hands with them with their nicotine stained fingers and make them to Namaskar with folded hands. They do appreciate these when done in the proper spirit.

Even our furnishings can be beautiful. While at Ahmedabad I visited Sheth Girdharbhai, whose house was exquisitely furnished with chairs, *Gadis*, etc. in lacquered wood-work. It was an example of what can be done with our indigenous art. In any case, there was no excuse for Doulton china and Dresden crockery, Huntley Palmers biscuits, lux soap etc. I am sure these remarks will be received in the sympathetic and friendly spirit in which they are offered.

I trust, you will continue to take active interest in the programme of the village industries which we discussed."

II

While on tour in another of the Kathiawad major States the Maharaja of that State who was a young man with enlightened views, fresh from a British University invited Kumarappa to discuss with him his future on ascending the *Gadi*. The discussion centred round rural reconstruction. The young Maharaja was

very keen to go and settle down in some remote village and lead a simple life, building up a society of his ideals and wanted to know how it could be done.

After listening to him and his high ideals, Kumarappa said to him, "Your ideas are unexceptionable. If they could be translated into action it will set a noble example to the princes of India. But there is only one provision, which may mar the whole conception. You are under British Sovereignty and the Britishers will not tolerate your hobnobbing with the villagers. Therefore, the first step that you have to take will be to decide for yourself one of two courses: either lead a comfortable, if not luxurious, life under British patronage or take to the life of the villagers with all its realities of hardships and poverty. There is no midway between these. You cannot live in a palace and attempt carrying on rural work with a few spare coppers."

It is needless to say the "rich young ruler turned away sorrowful".

III

The Maharaja of Bhavnagar donated Kumarappa a sum of five lakhs and asked him to build a Village Industries Research Centre within his State. Because of certain favourable condition and local support Gadhada was chosen and the Centre was built accordingly. At the time of the foundation-laying ceremony, the Maharaja and the Maharani came to take part in it. The Maharaja expressed his great pleasure at the prospect of having a Village Industries Training Centre within his own State. Kumarappa in his reply told the Maharaja that it would give him greater pleasure if the Maharaja himself would come and take

charge of it. " As a part of attraction, I promise to build a beautiful small mud-hut for the Maharaja to stay in. This in itself will be a great starting point for the work to be carried out by the Centre ! "

Later when the Maharaja became the Governor of Madras, he met Kumarappa on the platform of a meeting. Referring to Gadhada the Maharaja said, " When we met last, you called on me to abdicate my *Gadi*. You see, I have carried out your behest." Kumarappa replied, " Yes, only to conquer and take possession of my State ! "

CHAPTER XXI

ON CRUCIFIXES AND CROSSES

I

One day, while Kumarappa was travelling a Bishop entered his compartment at the Madurai Railway Station with a golden cross about 9″ long, dangling on his chest. It was suspended by a golden chain around his neck. Kumarappa's eyes went straight to this golden cross. The Bishop was a comparatively young man and as the train moved these two got into conversation. The Bishop was a humble person who had risen high in the ecclesiastical world through dint of hard work and study. After conversing with the Bishop for a while, the talk went on to the insecurity of the times. Kumarappa asked the Bishop jockingly, " Don't you think, that you are endangering your neck with such a big golden cross and chain in such days of insecurity ? Apart from that, it ill-becomes your profession to display so much wealth." The Bishop laughed and said, " I am not displaying

wealth. This cross was presented to me by my Diocese on the day of my consecration. Besides, this cross is not of solid gold." He gave Kumarappa the cross to test the lightness of its weight and explained that it is some cheap hollow metal article that has been gilded over.

Then Kumarappa explained to the Bishop that there were many points that had been raised by this incident. " The cross of Jesus was a heavy cross made of cheap, but strong wood to crucify criminals. It was, of course, not a golden cross. In addition to this, this cross pretends to be what it is not. Jesus's cross even to this day stands for Truth and Love. But your cross is a fraud all around. It is not gold and it pretends to be gold. It is not even honest wood. Jesus was suspended on the cross ; while in your case gold is suspended around your neck. I do grant that at the present time in the world, Jesus has to bear the heavy burden of gold, in as much as the status a man commands in the world is due to the position that gold occupies. So gold is killing the principles of Jesus. But I am sure, this interpretation is not one that you want to convey ! Jesus's cross is symbolical of hardships. We have to undergo much suffering if we wish to work out the ideals Jesus stood for."

After this sermon to the Bishop, Kumarappa excused himself for sermonizing to the Bishop himself. The Bishop in his turn humbly replied, " I agree to all that you say. But my own defence is that I am only a small cog-wheel in a world-wide organization, and these things have had a pagan origin which I as a small part of the organization, am not competent to call into question. I take this as a part of the paraphernalia of office and it won't be possible for me to alter

the situation. So I have resigned myself to follow the custom and tradition."

II

On another occasion a Roman Catholic Archbishop had come to attend a meeting and Kumarappa was introduced to him and was seated beside him. As there were a few minutes before the meeting, the Archbishop, on being introduced to Kumarappa, enquired of him if he was the same person as the author of the *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*.* When he was told that he was, he turned to Kumarappa and remarked, "You must be a Protestant Christian." On this Kumarappa smiled and said, "How do you guess that?"

The Archbishop replied, "Because in this admirable little book, you come down on the Christian Ministry with a big hammer and denounce them for their high standard of living and expensive ways. The Roman Catholic Priesthood follows simple living and inexpensive ways and you also advocate that a Christian Ministry should learn to take up the cross and follow Jesus. So I gathered from this that you are criticizing the Protestant missionaries. Here I must say, you are also, somewhat wrong in regard to the Protestant missionaries. I must say emphatically that these missionaries do carry a heavy cross. Their cross lies on their shoulder and the weight of the cross is increased by a leverage, because they are carrying at the top of the cross their wife and children with all their family needs! But we the Roman Catholic priests have renounced this material cross."

* Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14, price Re. 1-8, postage etc. As. 5.

The Satyagraha Mandir : Jesus laid down his life to fulfil his mission in life

At this turn their conversation ended up with a mutual hearty laughter.

Only Kumarappa added as a rider, "Those of us who are doing national work, though we may not be carrying religious symbols like the cross, when we serve the poor people in their villages by accepting the simple standards of life and hardships that one meets with in villages, we carry a cross in which there is no grumbling, but a sense of joy in sharing the burdens of others, just as Jesus shared death with criminals and suffered for his ideals.

III

At Maganwadi, Wardha, at the entrance to the Industries Court, there is a beautiful life-size representation of Jesus being taken down from the cross. This sculpture was made by Clara Quien Hopman and presented to the All India Village Industries Association of which Kumarappa was then the Secretary. This symbolic sculpture was mounted at the gateway of the Industries Court with the following inscription in English, Urdu, Hindi and Marathi :

> **"Grama Sevaks who obtain their training in the various departments housed in this Udyog Bhavan are expected to be imbued with the spirit of a true Satyagrahi. They should go out to serve the villagers dedicating all they have to such service. In the pursuit of their ideal they should be prepared to lay down even their lives if need be.**
>
> **"To symbolize this spirit of vicarious suffering and sacrifice that should be the goal of all Satyagrahis, this sculpture is erected depicting Jesus being taken down from the Cross on which he was crucified by the leaders of his day, because with his life of purity and unrelenting championship of truth, he proved an unbearable critic of the evil customs and traditions prevalent at that time. He laid down his life to fulfil his ideals."**

CHAPTER XXII

THE PATIENT AND THE PHYSICIAN

The kaleidoscopic variety of activities that Gandhiji indulged in covered practically all professions and his contributions were by no standards mean. He called himself a quack where the medical profession was concerned. But it has not yet been decided whether the professionals are quacks or Gandhiji. Gandhiji brought to bear on the case before him profound wisdom and commonsense which often outwitted the technical advantages that the professionals had.

Kumarappa records :

" Some years ago it was discovered that I was suffering from high blood pressure. The reason for the blood pressure was to be ascertained. I was taken to Bombay to be examined by some of the best doctors. My body was thoroughly examined and I was at the mercy of the specialists for three or four days. After all this examination all that they could declare was that they could find nothing wrong organically and therefore by the process of elimination they decided that my blood pressure was due to nervous strain !

With this report I came back to Gandhiji. He immediately set about finding the cause of even the nervous strain. He said, " We have to trace the cause of the strain and unless we do that we shall not be able to treat the disease nor prevent its recurring." He thought that the cause may be either physical fatigue or mental tiredness and therefore he wanted to locate the actual difficulty with me.

At that time at the Ashram there was a professor

from Kinnaird College, Lahore, who had come to discuss certain difficulties with Gandhiji. He sent her to discuss some of those with me and instructed Dr. Sushila Nayyar to take my blood pressure both before discussion began and after it ended. The discussion was to be limited to a period of fifteen minutes. The result showed that my blood pressure went up by 15 points. This was indicative that pure brain work put up the blood pressure.

Again the next day Gandhiji called the Manager of the Workshop and asked him to draw a line on a plank of wood and to get me to saw it exactly on that line and directed that my blood pressure should be taken before and after. The result again was a rise in blood pressure of 10 points this time. This showed that brain work in concentration on following the line along which to saw and the physical exertion of sawing resulted in a slighter rise.

The third day the physical instructor was asked to run a furlong with me and observe my pulse and also have my blood pressure taken before and after the exercise. The result this time was a fall of 10 points and the pulse returned to normal in good time.

It was concluded that pure physical exercise sent down the pressure. With these three results before Gandhiji he said he was fairly sure that my blood pressure was due to concentrated work of the brain and not physical fatigue, and the results also showed the way of cure and prevention. He said to me, "Whenever you get symptoms of blood pressure you have simply to walk it off, and as regards mental strain to prevent its accumulation you should relax between your periods of work. You may work in the

morning till 11 or 12 and take complete relaxation for about a couple of hours before you begin to work in the afternoon. Combining this with a regulation of the diet so that digestion and brain work do not go together you should be able to control your blood pressure more or less completely.

I took Gandhiji's treatment as being scientific both in regard to diagnosis and in regard to treatment and have followed his instruction carefully for the last several years with the result that excepting when this regimen is upset by unforeseen circumstances the plan has worked satisfactorily."

In the same way Gandhiji's approach to the various ailments were both simple and efficacious. He looked upon disease as caused by man's deviation from nature's way and that cure lay in bringing back our life into alignment with the requirements of nature.

CHAPTER XXIII

SOME NOTABLE INTERVIEWS

Many from all over the globe came to interview Gandhiji. As far as possible Gandhiji met them all himself but occasionally when the demands on his time were very pressing and when he had given them all he could, he passed the buck on to others. Of these Kumarappa had his share. Lord Lothian, Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Munster, Brig. Gen. Low may all be interesting but we shall narrate one or two cases only.

I

Lord Lothian came and spent over three hours at Maganwadi in a closely argued discussion. He came

with the idea that to practise non-violence and truth one need not necessarily take to a low standard of life. He passed off Gandhiji as an ascetic. He could not see that a life of luxury involves exploitation. He was not alone in this opinion. It is generally common in all imperialistic countries and the rich do not see why they cannot lead a life of ease with a light conscience. Kumarappa pointed out at great length that man — rich or poor — had a right only to his wages in return for his labour, that anything more than that involved exploitation of others whether visible or invisible, and exploitation was violence. He held that Gandhiji was no ascetic but was an aristocrat to his finger tips. His simple living was a result of self-control and renunciation, and that he expected to earn no merits thereby.

Lord Lothian asked Kumarappa where he lived and he was informed that he lived in a hut on the eastern part of Maganwadi ; he expressed a wish to see it, so they both repaired to the hut.

Kumarappa's hut was built at a cost of about Rs. 150/-. It was of matted split bamboo walls plastered over with mud and had a tiled roof. It measured 12 ft. by 14 ft. and was about 5 ft. high at the eaves. He had lived there for about 25 years.

Lord Lothian was a tall man. He had to bend low to pass through the door and then he could not stand erect except in the middle of the hut where the roof came to an apex.

After a good look of the quarters leaning on the central pillar, he remarked thoughtfully, "They call me a rich man and I profess to be a strong pacifist but you have shown me that I am living in a fool's paradise."

On his return to Sevagram he seems to have given Gandhiji a report of his interview with Kumarappa and as a token of appreciation donated a cheque for £ 100/-. Gandhiji sent that cheque to Kumarappa telling him he had earned it by his " lecture " to Lord Lothian ! Of course the A.I.V.I.A. had the material benefit of it.

II

When Gandhiji was at Madras in connection with the Jubilee celebrations of Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, the Parliamentary Delegation came to meet him. The Earl of Munster and Brig. Gen. Low finished their interview with Gandhiji early one morning and they were told not to leave Madras without discussing certain points with Kumarappa who was then staying with his sister at Thyagarajnagar. Kumarappa had no intimation of this. One morning, on his return from his walk, he found two cars, with crowns on their number plates, (indicating they were Government House Cars) parked under the portico of his sister's house. Thinking some ladies from the Government House may be on a visit to his sister he was hesitating to enter the house. But it seemed an unearthly hour for ladies to come on a visit as it was about 6 a.m. While he was thus debating within himself his sister appeared at the door and informed him some visitors were waiting for him.

Not heeding the introductions he plunged into conversation. The visitors were trying to justify the British domination on the grounds of benefits conferred on India — Education, Railways etc. Lord

Munster was placid while Gen. Low was vehemently vocal. They were served with some light refreshments. Kumarappa proved with many facts and figures (given in his book *Public Finance and our Poverty*) that all these ' benefits ' had a selfish origin in the need for English educated clerks and underlings, and by manipulation of freight rates to export raw materials and import manufactured goods. Then they wanted to know if British arms did not bring peace and settled life. This set Kumarappa on the war path. He told them mercenary soldiers were murderers and officers were arch-murderers etc. The visitors were turning red like turkey cocks. At last they thanked him for the illuminating talk and went away.

Then his sister took him to task for speaking so bluntly without any reserve and said, " I was all the time on tenterhooks and nervous not knowing when one of them may whip out a revolver and shoot you." At this Kumarappa laughed and said, " What does it matter ? I shall only die and go to purgatory immediately ! While they will follow me there when hanged for murder. There we can continue our talks in eternity ! "

As a critic Kumarappa is very outspoken and is no respecter of persons. He believes truth needs no sugar-coating, shading or camouflaging and should be presented in all its nakedness. He is unpopular on this account. But then he does not court popularity. He feels we should do our duty without fear or favour.

CHAPTER XXIV

INCARCERATION AGAIN

In 1939 September World War II started. When the Congress Ministers in the provinces laid down their offices, British Imperialist rule was again at its height. Ordinances after ordinances were passed. The poor agriculturists were made the losers on all sides. One cannot sit silent at this deliberate loot of the masses. Kumarappa raised his voice of protest. He wrote an article captioned "Stone for Bread", in the 1942 December issue of the *Gram Udyog Patrika*, the official organ of the All India Village Industries Association. This exposed the British tactics of inflation and the loot of the masses made possible thereby. The article is reproduced below :

"We have time and again pointed out the dangers of money economy. The evil of it is proving itself under the stress of war conditions. The Government is inflating the currency to such an extent as to make it almost worthless. The villagers are parting with valuable food grains for worthless paper because prices appear high but in fact the present day rupee is hardly worth 1¼ anna and hence unless the present prices are at least 12 times the old prices it is ruinous to part with our goods. Various devices are being used to induce farmers to exchange their commodities for paper. We are describing one such below in the form of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation.

The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation

All efforts at eliciting information regarding the purpose and the working of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation by questions in the recent session of the Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were skilfully warded off by the Government. Hence, the only way open to the public is to draw inferences warranted by an analysis of the function of the Corporation.

Up to now Great Britain was able to supply in exchange for goods she needed from abroad such materials as coal, steel, machinery and render services like transport and shipping. The unprecedented demand created by the war for these goods and services and the unrelenting submarine campaign has made it almost impossible for Great Britain to offer these goods and services any longer in exchange for the commodities and purchasing power she stands in need of so badly. All that she can now offer are her "sterling securities" which may not be worth the paper they are printed on if the fortunes of war should go against her. Naturally foreigners are not willing to supply their valuable goods merely against this paper. They rightly demand in exchange commodities which will be of use to them. Great Britain can only offer paper securities. The Middle East has the much needed oil, some precious metals and commodities and India though depleted of precious metals, produces a large supply of goods needed by the countries round the Persian Gulf. Great Britain has political control over the finances and trade of India. What is simpler than using this power to force the paper securities on India, take its commodities by a short sea route not infested with U boats and exchange them for oil, gold,

and much coveted articles from the Middle East? This, in short, is the function of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation backed by the Reserve Bank of India.

Valueless Currency

The framers of the Reserve Bank Act had conveniently provided for the forty per cent backing of currency note by bullion or sterling securities with the only condition that the bullion part is never below 40 crores. Bullion has intrinsic value, while the paper security represents only the credit of Great Britain. It is wrong in principle to have placed these two unlikes on equal footing. Under this subtle provision, keeping the statutory minimum of 40 crores of bullion, the Bank can increase its note issue to any amount against paper securities which may lead to a dangerous inflation in currency. In addition to this provision the Central Government, which is an interested party, has been given wide powers to sanction all kinds of irregularities! The rupee coins and notes are not distinguished and the periodically published statements are calculated not to furnish any information to the public worth considering.

Since 1939-40 the note issue has been more than doubled having been increased from 227 crores to 525 crores. As security against this issue, the bullion has been kept constant throughout at 44 crores while the sterling securities have been allowed to soar from 78 crores to 325 crores, accounting practically in itself for the whole inflation of nearly 300 crores.

If we take the bullion with its intrinsic value as the real backing for the note issue, the proportion of assets to liabilities works out at 8.4% and not 70.6% as the Reserve Bank statement claims after taking the

valueless paper into account. This is a weak position indicating barely 1¼ anna in the rupee.

To summarize, Great Britain has contributed paper securities to the extent of 325 crores and has obtained oil, metals and goods to that value. Iraq, etc., have exchanged goods for goods quite honestly. Helpless India has been made to part with commodities to this extent and to hug useless paper securities in return. Does not this service to Great Britain to enable it to exchange its paper for valuable commodities justify the existence of the U.K.C.C. as "almost a Department of Government" enjoying all facilities political power can confer on it? The Indian Chambers of Commerce have objected to the working of this Corporation on the ground that it was making an inroad into what is legitimate Indian business. The more serious objection is its being the medium of exchanging British "Paper" for the sweat of the brow of the masses of India.

The Financial Scorched Earth

The story does not end here. The Reserve Bank has now in its possession 325 crores of sterling securities. Even these are too good to be left in India in case the British have to withdraw from India. So the finance member is arranging to transfer £.30 millions to London against the future payments of interests on Railway Bonds.

In addition to this to save the private British investors in Indian railways, it is proposed to pay them off and to make the Government of India acquire these railways even before the due date. By so hurrying up, all what can be is scraped off the dish before the British leave India. This is the spear-head to the financial scorched earth policy. Where will it end?

In these uncertain times we would advise villagers not to part with their commodities for paper money, but to exchange it against goods only. We also appeal to the Mahajans etc. to give all facilities to the people to exchange their merchandise for grains etc., and labour. A form of barter economy has to come into existence to relieve the situation. It will be well for villagers to store in their granaries food stuffs needed for their household for at least two years."

Kumarappa was arrested for writing this article. In the course of the hearing, the Sessions Judge enquired, "What would have been the result if the advice tendered in the article had been acted on ? "

The Counsel for the defence jumped up and said, "If the farmers in Bengal had done what was suggested thirty lakhs of people who were living in Bengal at the time when that article was written, about a year ago, would be alive still. But they have perished in the famine caused by the shortage of grains consequent on the exports."

The Judge replied, "My question did not relate to the people but on the war effort as I am only concerned with the "Defence of India Act".

Kumarappa's statement to the court at Wardha was an eye-opener to the public on the nefarious activity of inflation. A part of this statement was collected and published under the title *Currency Inflation: Its Cause and Cure*. This was under ban for a long time till the Congress Ministries came again to power in the provinces.

While pronouncing the judgment the judge congratulated the Public Prosecutor on the able way he

had handled a difficult and a highly technical case, and helped the court to understand its implications.

At this stage, the Public Prosecutor interrupted and informed the court that he was working under the instructions of the prisoner himself as he could not get any other professors of economics to help him! This raised a general laughter in the court.

Kumarappa was sentenced to 3 terms of 2½ years' hard labour on each of the three charges. After spending two years in jail his health began to break down. He was isolated in a yard for two years alone but for the services of a convict criminal. He was kept in bed with bluish swollen hands and feet and kept on liquid nourishment. The Jail doctors feared he might collapse any day. They allowed him all sorts of facilities within their rules. In spite of all physical concessions, his mind refused to be consoled. Health went from bad to worse and the three civil surgeons who examined him recommended to Government his immediate release. Telegrams were sent to his sisters at Madras. One of them rushed to Jubbulpore. On the day (2nd January, 1945) she reached there Kumarappa was also released.

Gandhiji never thought he would meet Kumarappa in flesh and blood from the alarming Government reports he was getting about his health. Kumarappa was physically much reduced and weak. But the Civil Surgeons' alarming reports were all falsified with his breathing of free air. Within a few weeks, Kumarappa got better and made his way straight to Sevagram to meet Gandhiji who had been released earlier. At first sight Gandhiji was not able to recognize him until Kumarappa went very near, and then Gandhiji greeted him in his characteristic cordial style,

"Kumarappa! you are a fraud. You have cheated all the doctors!"

CHAPTER XXV

IN LIGHTER VEIN

I

Pot Washing

Kumarappa records:

"Gandhiji's sense of humour often saved the temper of people around him. When he found danger coming ahead he immediately brought the ludicrous into play and thus glanced off at a tangent and avoided friction.

When the All India Village Industries Association was formed Gandhiji came to live with us at Maganwadi so as to be on the spot to guide the policy of the Association. One of our rules at that time was that every one should take part in all our daily activities. This included washing of heavy kitchen utensils coated with soot and dirt. One day, it fell to Gandhiji's lot to clean the kitchen pots. I was his partner. So we both sat down together, near the well, with cocoanut fibre in our hands, and ashes and mud by our side, and we were scrubbing the black stuff off.

Suddenly, Kasturba Gandhi appeared on the scene. She could not tolerate the sight of the great Mahatma with his hands up to the elbow in dirt. She watched him for a few minutes and burst out in

Gujarati telling Gandhiji that this was no work for a person like him. He ought to be engaged in better work and in a rage she asked him to get up and go away, leaving the work to be done by others and swiftly, suiting her action to her words, snatched off the *dekchi* from his hands leaving Gandhiji bewildered at the quickness of her action. With the cocoanut fibre in one hand and the other hand all full of dirt, he looked at me with open toothless mouth and laughed saying, 'Kumarappa, you are a happy man. You have no wife to rule you this way! However, I suppose I have to obey my wife to keep domestic peace. So you will excuse me if I go away leaving her to partner you in washing the kitchen pots.'"

II

Humour to Set Total Strangers at Ease

All the Kumarappa brothers are stone bald. When the eldest, Dr. J. M. Kumarappa visited Maganwadi, his younger brother, Dr. Bharatan took him to introduce him to Gandhiji. On introduction Gandhiji looked up from his writing and noticing the bald head said, "Don't I see the family resemblance? He needs no introduction."

III

Dignified Purposeful Humour

For good many years the courtesy of the sub-editors had conferred on Kumarappa a Doctorate. The reason for this was that all three of his brothers possess academic Doctorates in their special subjects and there has been constant mistakes being made in identifying

the various brothers. To avoid any awkwardness, the sub-editors of newspapers had always referred to him as 'Doctor Kumarappa'. In his earlier public career as a stickler for form he had often written to the newspapers concerned correcting their mistake, but he found the postage on such letters was generally wasted probably due to the rapid turn over in the sub-editors detailed out to deal with the various news items. For this reason, after a little while, he left the sub-editors to their own devices.

Gandhiji generally has his own personal way of referring to those around him. The usual honorific that he used for our Kumarappa was 'Professor'. This originated from his being Professor Emeritus of the Gujarat Vidyapith, which was then and is even now functioning as a National University. In 1942, when he was jailed for his article in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* already related above, he spent the seclusion, in reading and writing which resulted in the two books, *Practice and Precepts of Jesus* and *The Economy of Permanence*. When he was released in 1945, he sent those manuscripts to Gandhiji, as he thought he would be interested in the subjects dealt with. But, he had not asked Gandhiji for a foreword for either of them, not wanting to burden him with such extra work.

To his surprise, one day he received the manuscript of *Practice and Precepts of Jesus* with the note headed 'A Word'. This latter was enclosed in an envelope addressed to him as 'Dr. Kumarappa D. D.' Knowing Gandhiji as he did, he took this to be his impish joke on a layman like him writing a book dealing with religion.

A few months later, he received back the manuscript of *The Economy of Permanence* with a foreword voluntarily contributed by Gandhiji which was enclosed in an envelope addressed 'Dr. Kumarappa, D.D., D.V.I.' At first he was a little puzzled to know what this 'D.V.I.' was. But when he read the foreword the meaning became clear as Gandhiji there referred to Kumarappa as 'Doctor of Village Industries'!

He thought again that this was only another instance of his 'Puckish' humour, but to his surprise he found that Gandhiji had referred to him in the foreword as 'Doctor Kumarappa', and not as 'Professor Kumarappa', as he had always done before. On this, the matter was referred back to Gandhiji to get his permission to amend the foreword accordingly, before sending it to the press. Gandhiji had always been a stickler for form and never relished anybody altering even verbally any of his writings. To this Gandhiji again replied that he meant every word he had written and no one was to alter anything in the foreword and it should go into print as it was.

Later when this 'D.D., D.V.I.' met Gandhiji personally, he twitted his *guru* about his arrogance in presuming to confer doctorates on whomsoever he pleased and what was more coining new degrees to suit his purpose. To this with a good humoured laugh he said, "Why should you question my authority to confer doctorate or to coin degrees? Am I not the Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapith?"

Then later in a card he justified himself even on the merits of the thesis submitted.

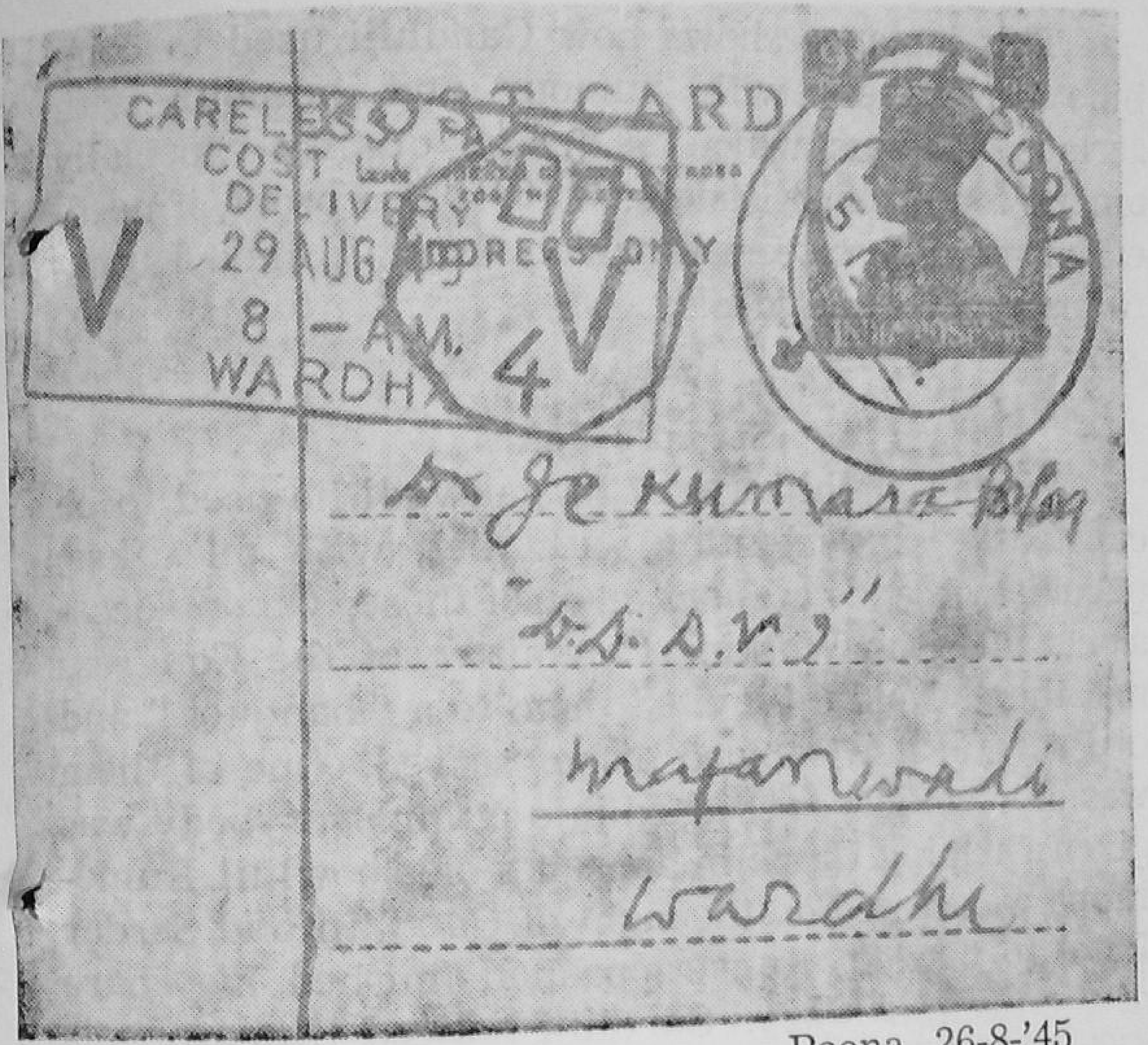
Poona 26-8-45

My dear KC,

Your letter. Of course you can have O.B. or V.I. and you have proved your title to the two degrees far more than those who receive university degrees. Why should they have the monopoly?

You are getting on. My article is being considerably lighter than you had-[illegible] administrative work which [illegible] itself to the others will put it in its place.

Yours
Bapu



Poona, 26-8-'45

My dear Ku,

Your letter. Of course, you can have 'D.D., D.V.I.,' and you have proved your title to the two degrees far more than those who receive University equivalents. Why should they have the monopoly ?

You are getting on. My article should considerably lighten your administrative work which sends up B. P. The other will put it in its place.

Yours — Bapu.

Addressed to :

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, "D.D., D.V.I.,"
Maganwadi,
Wardha

This instance shows how Gandhiji used to combine seriousness with humour and humour with serious business which is a rare quality especially among top-ranking leaders. This is also proof, if needed, of the high esteem in which Gandhiji held Kumarappa's views and ideals.

IV
Sardar's Jokes

While Gandhiji was at Maganwadi he used to be constantly experimenting with diet, with oil cakes, neem leaves and *chutneys* made of these. On one occasion, when the Working Committee of the Congress met there, Gandhiji invited them to a "banquet" and had several new fangled dishes served. One of them was of neem leaves crushed into pulp. Everybody was given a helping. Gandhiji himself took a bowlful. Kumarappa was seated on the right of Gandhiji and Sardar Patel to his left. Kumarappa had finished his share of the neem *chutney.* Gandhiji noticed Kumarappa's dish was clear and immediately took from his own bowl a generous helping and dropped it into Kumarappa's with a mischievous chuckle. Sardar was watching this paternal care of Gandhiji and with deep sympathy remarked, "Kumarappa, Bapu started drinking goat's milk and now has taken to goat's food (neem leaves) also." This set the whole company laughing.

V
Scales of Values

Once a meeting was arranged in the New Delhi Viceregal Lodge. Kumarappa attended the meeting. He reached the Government House a few minutes earlier and was looking at the architectural beauty of the

House. Sardar Patel was coming behind. He saw Kumarappa gazing at the Government House and asked in fun, "Kumarappaji, how do you find this cottage?"

Kumarappa replied, "Oh! Sardarji, you are asking my opinion?" So saying he walked out again and looked up and down the house and said, "This house is a few inches longer, broader and a little higher than mine in Maganwadi." (As mentioned above Kumarappaji's one-roomed mud hut is 12 ft. × 14 ft.). All had a hearty laugh and went in.

Even at noon in that palace the corridors had to be lighted by electricity. Now Kumarappa wanted to poke fun at Sardar. He said, "Sardarji, there is one other difference between my hut and this place. In my place we see things by daylight but here, in this place, everything is seen only in artificial light. This is true in more senses than one!"

CHAPTER XXVI

REAL INDEPENDENCE

I

Kumarappa had a clear grasp of what Gandhiji wanted done, in the way of rural uplift. So whenever Kumarappa formulated schemes for rural uplift they met with Gandhiji's fullest approval.

He formulated an elaborate scheme for rural uplift in 1946. The principles underlying this scheme can be well appreciated if we recall the three incidents related by Kumarappa.

The first was about his tour in Ceylon. People at a meeting in Colombo asked Kumarappa, "How are

we to get our Swaraj ?" Kumarappa explained that the independence of a country was closely related to its economic activities and therefore wanted to know what the people in Ceylon lived by. What was their produce ? What were their imports and exports ?

They replied, "We eat rice that is brought from Burma, Siam and other places. We clothe ourselves with textiles, woven locally but made of yarn imported from Canada. We grow a lot of rubber and tea and export these to foreign markets in return."

Kumarappa replied, "If that is the case, in order to attain Swaraj you should begin practising eating rubber and clothing yourselves with tea leaves ! For if a foreign warship comes and blockades Colombo harbour, it can stop all imports and exports and the island will be left with only its rubber and tea." Hence he said for attaining Swaraj the chief necessity is self-sufficiency in the prime needs of the country.

II

The second incident happened on his tour in Afghanistan. It is considered an "uncivilized" country as it does not have good motorable roads and other paraphernalia. But it had enough food, not only for its inhabitants, but also for visitors. Wherever he travelled in Afghanistan he found people well fed, robust and contented. While returning from there, the bus that was carrying him was rocking and tossing the passengers. The Afghan driver complained that the Frontier Province was very close to British India where there were good tarred roads on which we could travel smoothly. At that time a fleet of motor lorries were coming from the Frontier Province to Afghanistan. Kumarappa inquired of the driver where they

were proceeding. He was told that these lorries were going to Afghanistan to transport 550 tons of wheat offered by that country to relieve the grave food situation in India. Kumarappa told the driver, "India is 'civilized' with all the outward show and pomp of tarred roads etc. but the people have empty stomachs. But Afghanistan is not 'civilized' in that sense, but has plenty to eat and to spare," and he asked which was better? The driver promptly replied, "Of course, food."

III

The third incident was while he was in the Frontier Province. The province was not producing a sufficient number of eggs for its own consumption. Its production could last it only for about 10 days in the year. Even then, for the sake of money a large quantity of eggs was sent out to Rawalpindi, Quetta and such other military camps outside the province. The children of the province were thus deprived of their rightful and much-needed nutrition. Kumarappa decried it therefore as a way of stealing food from the mouths of babes, by enticing the producers with money.

A handful of educated people in India want to industrialize India after the American and British model. This, however, according to Kumarappa, is a completely misguided programme. The stress of certain conditions drove Western countries to that programme. But the conditions that exist in India today are not identical. We have plenty of unused human power. We do not have much capital and hence any plan for the national good should be based on the vast resources of human power available. On the other hand, if

India goes the way of America and Britain in seeking labour-saving devices, then unemployment will become rampant and the nation cannot prosper.

Such recommendations of Kumarappa were discussed at length in the Ministers' Conference at Poona and accepted unanimously.

The Economic Programme Committee of the Congress that was formed in the year 1948 also accepted these recommendations.

IV

Kumarappa fears nothing. He does not attempt to win anyone's favour or cares for anybody's displeasure. Conscience is his one guide and he acts according to its dictation.

After the advent of Swaraj just as many other optimists, he also was gravely disappointed. Many a time he openly expressed himself against the policies pursued by the Congress Ministers in power.

In the *Gram Udyog Patrika* of October 1947 he wrote :

"It (Government) seems to be drifting, without any well-defined policy, leaving its rudder in the hands of vested interests, which are unscrupulously feathering their nests while they may. Where some public considerations do have a play they are, generally, of a political nature and are dictated by immediate exigencies.

"Gandhiji is being hailed as the "Father of Independence" throughout the land. What is the Independence we see around us? Freedom to kill each other? It is a blasphemy to call a divided country, where communal riots abound, a child of the apostle

of non-violence. No Government in our country has accepted Gandhiji's ideals for the country. Indeed Gandhiji is either the father of a monster or a father without a child. There will be time enough to confer fatherhood on him when the country wholeheartedly adopts his programme based on the welfare of the masses."

Some of his friends wrote to him that he should not be critical about the Congress-managed Governments. He replied he did not bother about the Congress-managed or the British-managed Government. He was only interested in the welfare of the masses. When he saw all round the condition of the poor, toiling millions going from bad to worse, he could not very well say that everything done by the Congress Government was for the good of the masses.

CHAPTER XXVII

OTHER FIELDS OF SERVICE

I

Ministership

When the Congress came into power in the provinces before the last global war, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel asked Kumarappa if he would be prepared to accept a ministership. On Kumarappa declining in view of the fact that his services were needed for the further development of the work of the All India Village Industries Association, the Sardar referred the matter to Gandhiji. Gandhiji replied to the Sardar that Kumarappa should be available for all India and should not be limited to any one portfolio nor to a

particular province. So the Sardar's proposal was dropped.

II

Working Committee of the Congress *v.* A.I.V.I.A.

When Acharya J. B. Kripalani became the President of the Congress, he invited Kumarappa to join the Working Committee of the Congress. The invitation leaked out and was published in daily papers. Gandhiji saw the news and hastened to congratulate Kumarappa on becoming a member of the Congress High Command. A member of the A.I.V.I.A. could not take part in politics. So, Kumarappa wrote to Gandhiji, explained this, stating that left to himself, he had very little inclination for politics. So this offer was declined and Kumarappa, in return, invited the Acharya to resign his Presidentship and join the A.I.V.I.A. Board if he wished to serve effectively the masses of the people! When Gandhiji heard of this he supported Kumarappa's contention.

III

Lok Sevak Sangh

From time to time, Gandhiji had created a number of independent organizations to carry on the various items of constructive work. After attaining political Swaraj Kumarappa stressed the need for all those organizations to merge together under the name of Lok Sevak Sangh to intensify their work of rural uplift so that the masses too can enjoy the benefit of Swaraj. Gandhiji agreed that this programme was necessary. He proposed a meeting to be held in Sevagram on the 2nd of February 1948. Kumarappa was asked to convene this meeting.

With Mirabehn at his cottage at Pannai Ashram, Seldoh

Gandhiji, however, was shot on the 30th of January 1948. The meeting was held after some months, however, without Gandhiji. The heads of the institutions could not come to any agreement between themselves as brothers in a fatherless house. Later the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh was formed and efforts are still on foot to unify these organizations.

IV

Agrarian Reforms Committee

The Indian National Congress created an Agrarian Reforms Committee in February 1948 with Shri Kumarappa as the chairman of the committee. The committee undertook a countrywide tour, saw the actual conditions of agriculture and agriculturists in different parts and submitted a report of its recommendations.

These recommendations were not well received by the capitalistic press. They were very critical. It is now left to the public to judge for themselves the merit of the committee's recommendations in their effect on the national economy. Some of the salient points of this report are :

1. Land is not to be in private ownership.
2. Agriculture should be placed on a business basis and sleeping partners not tolerated.
3. The tiller must hold the land directly under the community and enjoy fully the fruits of his labour.
4. When agricultural costs are computed, such cost should form the basis of calculation of even minimum wages in the industrial sector.

5. The cost should be computed not in terms of money but in terms of a unit which will be a combination of energy, time and material and will adequately provide for the family life of the tiller all through the year, and not merely allow for subsistence during the cultivating season.

To implement these Kumarappa left the A.I.V.I.A. after it was taken over by the A. B. Sarva Seva Sangh, and settled in village Seldoh, about 20 miles from Wardha. Here he got together about 180 acres of land and was building up the Pannai Ashram. He was busy organizing there an Agrarian College and a model village centre where his ideas of Agrarian Reforms could be experimented with. But what with his high blood pressure and this new undertaking, his health began to break down and the physicians insisted on his giving up day to day routine administrative work, confining himself to writing and literary pursuits. Accordingly he agreed to retire and has moved down to T. Kallupatti in Madurai District.

The A. B. Sarva Seva Sangh is making arrangements to continue and develop the work of Agrarian Reforms at the Pannai Ashram.

V

Real Gandhi Donations

Soon after the demise of Gandhiji there was a telephone call from Delhi summoning Kumarappa's immediate presence from Wardha from the President of the Indian National Congress, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. In response when Kumarappa flew to Delhi, he was told, "You are summoned for consultations in connection with the formation of a Gandhi Memorial Fund."

About ten persons closely connected with Gandhiji were invited to take part in a conference and lay out a plan for the formation of the Memorial Fund. Kumarappa was invited to take charge of this work.

He explained that the Gandhi Memorial Fund should be a unique organization. The usual traditional method is to raise money for putting up material memorials or institutions. He suggested :

" Even the idea of raising monetary funds for a memorial is out of place at the present time. Ours is a popular Government. Therefore, whatever schemes are put forward by the people can be implemented by the Government through its financial channels. The efforts that will be needed to raise memorial funds can well be diverted to more constructive channels. Gandhiji's programmes have never suffered for lack of funds. The one great difficulty has always been lack of the human element. Therefore the greatest fund that could be raised is a fund of human personality and when such fund is available, when men of devotion and renunciation are forthcoming, they may be walking round the country emanating that light that characterized Gandhiji and in so doing they will be better representatives of the non-violent ideology.

Thousands of our young men are being misguided into the path of violence. The fault lies with us for not having brought the way of non-violence within easy reach of them. A true memorial to Gandhiji will, therefore, be one which will gather into the fold this tremendous potential factor of human personality and direct it into ways which will bring peace and harmony to the world.

To do this, monetary funds, however useful they may be, are not absolutely essential. What is needed is an army of men and women imbued with the ideals of non-violence and truth, as taught and expounded by Gandhiji, to go forth into the world, expounding these doctrines, not merely by word of mouth, but by their everyday life."

He suggested that we might fix one lakh of souls for the fund and collect volunteers to offer themselves as constituent parts of that fund.

When he was asked how he would administer such a fund, he readily replied, "I want first of all three donors and these three should be Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, the then Dy. Prime Minister, and Smt. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, the only woman minister." He called for their resignations of office and wanted them to hand these in as the first donations! He suggested that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru should go to the youth in the colleges and universities and collect young men for the Gandhian work. Similarly he wanted Smt. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to go to the women's colleges and get their quota of workers. Sardar Patel was to concentrate on organizing institutions similar to the Vidyapiths which were built up for a political programme. If this can be done, he envisaged, it will be in keeping with the Gandhian ideals and would be a fitting memorial for Gandhiji.

These ideas, however, did not find favour with any of them. So Kumarappa returned a disappointed man leaving behind Shri Kripalani to look after the money bag only!

CHAPTER XXVIII

FOREIGN TOURS

A merchant shipper invited Kumarappaji to go as his economic adviser to a shipping conference at London in the middle of 1947. Kumarappa agreed.

When the members of the shipping delegation were at Karachi on the outward journey, a well-to-do businessman of the place gave them a send-off party. After the party when the members were discussing, someone referred a question to Kumarappa and he replied, " Ours is a capitalistic group with identical interests. Then how can we expect any concessional treatment from that party when both are groups of exploiters ? " The leader of the delegation was hurt at the word " exploiters " used by Kumarappa. He remembered the word till the last. In London when some question was referred again to Kumarappa, the leader remarked, " What is the use of asking Kumarappa's opinion when he thinks that we are a gang of exploiters ? "

The host at Karachi was much impressed at the outspokenness of Kumarappa. He met Kumarappa privately after the party and appreciated his courage and said that capitalists were a group of people with no conscience. Even if the sale of a human corpse could bring them money they would not flinch at it.

While in England he was interested in seeing the war-torn condition of the country. He studied the change in the outlook and methods of life of people in post-war England. They had become conscious of the importance of self-sufficiency in primary needs. He also studied the " controls " and " rationing " system

in England and the reason why these were successful there.

This trip to England was useful in creating contacts with many pacifists there. *Peace News* — a weekly journal — gave publicity to Kumarappa's exposition of Gandhian principles.

Within twelve months after Kumarappa returned, the War Resisters' International met at Shewsbury, England and Kumarappa went as a delegate to that conference. This conference was more or less a forerunner to the elaborate pacifists' conferences held in India in December, 1949, in Shantiniketan and Sevagram in early 1950.

Kumarappa was deputed to China as a member of the Goodwill Delegation to attend her independence day celebration on 1st October, 1951. He took the opportunity and studied the great achievements of the Communist regime in that country. He reported that the Communists had done amazingly well in re-organizing in a very short time the primary occupation of the nation, agriculture, that was till then in the hands of a few feudal lords, who squeezed out the life-blood of the landless labourers. The Communist Government had formed Agricultural Co-operatives all over the country. The feudal land-lordism was put an end to. People got enough to satisfy their primary needs and this enhanced further the prestige of the newly formed Government.

While in China, Kumarappa visited a number of places such as Hongkong, Peking, Mukden, Tientsing, Nanking, Shanghai, Hanchow and Canton from the 23rd September to 1st November, 1951. The impressions gained in this country have formed the subject matter of a brochure he brought out on return to

India under the caption, *People's China : What I Saw and Learnt There.**

After China, Kumarappa visited Japan at the request of the Government of India. He made a study of the Agricultural and Cottage Industries methods of that island. He went round a number of places such as Tokyo, Nagoya, Giju, Osaka, Kobe, Yokohama, Hiroshima and Nikko till the 7th December.

After the completion of the tour he took the surface route to Singapore from Tokyo and landed there on the 26th of December, 1951. From there he flew to Calcutta and reached Wardha on New Year's day, 1952.

The impressions he gained have been collected in the form of a small report and submitted to the Government. This has since been published under the name *A Report on Agricultural, Cottage and Small Scale Industries in Japan.*†

Kumarappa completed his 60th birthday on the 4th of January, 1952. His co-workers and friends thought it fitting to present him a birthday souvenir on that happy occasion in commemoration of the meritorious services he was rendering to the country for the last two and a half decades. A special volume was compiled under the caption *The Economics of Peace —the Cause and the Man.* This contains six chapters of biography. One whole part is devoted to relevant portions of his writings on various subjects. Another part contains details about the various items of the Gandhian constructive programme, and also other

* Published by the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha. Price As. 12, postage etc. As. 3.

† Published by the Government of India Press, Delhi. Price Re. 1-4-0.

contributions from constructive workers. A function befitting the solemn occasion was got up in Maganwadi and this volume was presented.

Kumarappa was invited to attend Moscow as a member of the International Conference of Economists that was held on the 3rd of April, 1952. Russia is a land of mysteries. Many are anxious to visit Russia to study their economic reconstruction and the way in which the Communists want to reorder their society. After attending the International Economists' Conference, Kumarappa toured some of the places of interest and acquired a first-hand knowledge about the various achievements of the Communists. From Moscow he went to Leningrad, Stalingrad, Uzbeckistan and Tashkent and returned by air. He got back to India on the 11th of May, 1952.

Within a short time after his return he had to go to Germany as a delegate to the extraordinary session of the World Peace Council that was held from the 1st to 5th July, 1952. This conference was attended by about 300 delegates from about 50 countries. Kumarappa addressed this conference on the 4th night regarding the Gandhian approach to World Peace. After touring East Germany and Czechoslovakia he returned to India on the 18th of July 1952 by air.

In December that year he attended the Congress on World Peace at Vienna and then toured Russia and Georgia and returned home in January 1953.

In May 1954, he spoke at the World Peace Council at Berlin. In June, he took part in the International Peace Conference at Stockholm. At Paris, the War Resisters' International invited him to address their conference in July. He also spent some time visiting Bulgaria and got back at the end of August.

His impressions of these lands he has given in his booklet *A Peep behind the Iron Curtain.**

He found many things we can learn from the experiments that are being carried on there. We cannot, for reasons of space, deal with them here but refer the curious to the booklet mentioned.

CHAPTER XXIX

RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

This chapter brings us practically to the close of the biographical sketch of a great Gandhian Constructive Worker. Kumarappa had over-exerted himself a great deal in the national cause. We have already observed how he developed high blood pressure due to work in many fields. However much the spirit may soar the weakness of the flesh holds it down. Hence Kumarappa had after all to care for his body as well. The strong advice of his physicians compelled him to retire. I quote in part his writing in this connection that appeared in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* of July 1953.

"Some fifteen years ago a partial stroke was noticed as my right side turned paralytic for a few hours. Dr. Jivaraj Mehta and Dr. M. D. D. Gilder examined me and found that this attack was consequent on the development of high blood pressure of the nervous type and ordered complete rest. Immediately our motherly nurse, Gandhiji, carried me away to Sevagram from Maganwadi and kept me under his

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* Can be obtained from the N. M. S. Press, Royapettah, Madras-14.

personal care for a year and cut down my daily work and responsibilities.

With this admirable training in self-care I have been able to carry on since then, doing about 10 to 12 hours' work daily when well and slowing down when not quite so well. In the last few years my physical strength has been weakening under the strain of over sixty years. In spite of all that, with due care and daily adjustment I have been able to travel far and wide covering China, Japan, Germany and Soviet Russia and at the same time carrying on my usual work.

Last May, I attended a conference on the Study of Society by some Christian youth held at Coonor. At this time I had a partial stroke lasting intermittently for about a week. I was taken to Victoria Hospital at Bangalore for examination. The chief physician, after three days of detailed examination, advised complete relief from all responsibilities and daily direction of work and, if possible, retirement from active life.

I placed this medical recommendation before the Sarva Seva Sangh asking for leave to retire and I have been requested not to retire completely just now but to slow down the tempo of work, reduce my touring and pitch my tent in any one place and help with my advice and guidance without taking responsibility for day to day work. This I am trying to do and implement their wishes as far as my health will permit."

When this was announced many invited Kumarappa to spend the rest of his life with them. His relatives and friends invited him to different places considering only the climate and solitude. He visited a number of these places that were offered to him and finally

has pitched his tent in Gandhi-Niketan Ashram — T. Kallupatti in Madurai District.

This Ashram is the creation of Shri G. Venkatachalapathy and Shri R. Guruswami, two of the stalwarts among the Gandhian workers of South India. This institution has already gained a great name in the constructive field by dint of hard work turned out. Many items of Khadi and village industries programme are included in the activities of this Ashram and it bids fair to be the Maganwadi of the South.

The Government of Madras are taking advantage of the existence of this institution and are sending batches of young men and women for training in village industries, Khadi work and general rural uplift programme. Thus this Ashram has become the virtual university for rural development workers in this area and is a meeting ground for constructive workers. Therefore Kumarappa chose this place as one providing the needed healthy atmosphere to rest.

A major portion of Kumarappa's life has been spent in the company of constructive workers. Naturally he feels happy as a fish in water only in such environment and seems out of his element when set in urban places like Bangalore, Kodaikanal, Ooty, or Coimbatore where he would not have had the needed company of constructive workers. Trying to make Kumarappa live in such places will only be tantamount to solitary confinement in prison without the necessary contact with the outside world of his choice. Moreover what the doctors prescribed was only to be rid of the burden of administration, the rigour of following daily routine, and the strain of concentrated thinking. Gandhi-Niketan Ashram, while keeping him free from

these worries at the same time has made his services available to the nation as a consultant on matters of vital importance.

Besides, Kumarappa has the pleasure of being with ever-so-many rising youth of the country that aspire to devote themselves to the cause of rural development for which he has dedicated his life. He takes legitimate pride, as the father of the village industries movement, in mixing with these youths, guiding them about the principles and philosophy underlying their life work. Thus he spends the evening of his life also in a way most useful to the nation. We pray he will be long spared to guide us in the way of non-violence and truth leading to real and lasting peace.

PART IV

PEACE AMONG NATIONS

CHAPTER XXX

PEACE AMONG NATIONS

I

The Peace Movement

No account of Kumarappa's activities would be complete without a reference to his approach to World Peace. Regarding the Peace Movement he writes as under :

"I have been receiving numerous letters asking for the object of the Peace Movement and what is the need for trying to popularize it even when there is no war in India. At first glance it looks as though it is a vain cry in the wilderness. We have to understand the basis of the present economic structure which urgently calls for this movement.

In the days past wars were caused by conflict of interests of kings or other leaders, and they fought against each other with their mercenary troops. The causes were mostly self-aggrandisement, acquisition of territory, loot or revenge. And these wars were limited to the interested persons and their hirelings. There was no occasion to rouse the people into a frenzy on either side.

With the growth of centralized industries there has been considerable need for violence created by capitalist interests to control raw materials, labour and markets. For this purpose millions of people had to be held either in political or financial slavery.

In the first World War, the cause was largely for the markets of the world. Great Britain, Germany and Japan were the vested interests. In the second World

War the need to control the petrol resources of the world was the main cause. Now in the Korean war the presence of tungsten ore in North Korea attracted the manganese-steel makers.

Under these circumstances any war cannot be limited to the belligerents only. Here, apart from the warring elements, the people are also involved. Up to now, as the main parties were fighting each other they destroyed their own men and their properties ; as the common people got involved in these wider conflicts it became necessary to rouse their interests in the conflagrations brought about by the conflicting interests. It was not enough merely to state the case, as the causes were largely ones that would not enthuse common people. If Great Britain wanted India as a market and German merchants also coveted the same market, common people in Great Britain and Germany were not going to shed their blood for the sake of the vested interests ; hence the latter had to whip up the common people in Germany and Great Britain and foster a patriotic slogan of " King and Country " while it is in reality " Raw Materials and Business ". Similarly, race hatred and suspicion had to be aroused wherever possible between ethnical groups. Thus modern wars are fed on bitterness amongst the masses of the people who have in reality no cause for engendering such evil intentions. The common people on the whole desire peace because whatever may happen to big business they want to spend their little span of three score years and ten in quietness and comfort. Hence, if a war is to be effective, the belligerent element in the common man has to be aroused, and therefore a whirlwind campaign generally figures almost as important a factor in war as the actual fighting forces. This

campaign is an anti-social campaign. It is violent in conception, violent in execution and violent in the result. All too innocently the Germans are taught to sing songs of hatred and hypnotize themselves into a state in which they feel it is a righteous act to kill every Briton they come across. This kind of a general campaign of hatred is conducive to recruitment for the army, gives it a morale for fighting and purposefulness for their murderous campaign. Therefore, if left to themselves, the capitalist interests, combined with imperial needs, ultimately bring about an atmosphere amongst the common people to wage war.

Therefore it becomes necessary to counter this artificially created hatred amongst common people by enlightening them as to the real interests that concern them. For instance, if tobacco is to be grown in India for the London market, as India is already an over-exploited land, the needed area can only be obtained by displacing the common man's food acreage. The interests in London, which carry on business in tobacco, are not concerned with the vital needs of our common people in the tobacco growing areas. The result being the people in such areas suffer from shortage of food and perhaps die of starvation, and yet the common man in London who smokes, hardly realizes his moral responsibility in this case. To be able to control such raw materials it may become necessary to get political control over other countries. Therefore the present Peace Movement, which wants to restore peace amongst common men, has to develop a counter campaign among the common people against the campaign of hatred let loose by the capitalists and imperialists. Hence it becomes necessary for those interested in the peace of the world, to disseminate correct

information and knowledge in regard to economic conditions behind international conflicts.

Apart from this, it is also necessary for us to remove causes of conflict amongst the people themselves, for instance, in the relationship between landlord and tenant, zamindar and landless labour. Such differences in society should not be allowed to develop into acute forms where they may generate hatred and lead to destruction.

These are the causes that ultimately lead to global wars. Therefore they require to be nipped in the bud, if we need to have a rational relationship between man and man.

In the past, as we have pointed out, wars were limited to warring interests only, but now the people have come in as the third party, and hence at the present time the instruments of destruction not only concern the soldiers on the field but also the people in their homes. The atom bomb, napalm bomb and bacterial warfare have brought death and destruction to every hearth and home. This is because the common man has also been roped in as the third party. The terrible aspect of these global wars is the letting loose of the spirit of hatred amongst the nations. If these are to be damned and controlled, it will be necessary for us to educate the general public even during peace time and let them know that war is not a part of life but a villainous distortion of human relationship. Peace Movement, properly conceived, should not be limited to extinguishing the raging flames of war, but should concern itself with constructive remoulding of society for our peaceful existence. Hatred is not healthy to human society. A spirit of

understanding and goodwill should prevail if humanity is to progress.

Our considerations show that to develop the spirit of peace it would be necessary for a movement of this kind to take up the various conflicting questions and problems that face each nation and try to solve them betimes. People who wish to join the Peace Movement, have, therefore, an onerous responsibility in front of them and have to grapple with the root causes of war. If, as we have already pointed out, foreign trade in basic materials and finished products leads to war, it follows that as far as practicable such trade should become more or less self-sufficient in their daily needs. Otherwise the lesson taught by Gandhiji to attain non-violence and truth and to propagate a social order based on such principles will be in vain.

It also means that the Peace Movement should foster the growth of industries of the people as against industries by machinery to avoid these wide-flung interests which require to control the lives of thousands of people. Hence those interested in the Peace Movement should undertake the curtailing of foreign trade at both ends. We should organize for utilizing our basic materials and convert them into articles that we require by supporting cottage industries and village industries and also create market for these goods by restricting our requirements to such products. This may entail banning foreign products and restricting our consumption. This must be undertaken as a part of the noble cause leading humanity further along. Hence the future of the world and the peaceful conditions of the people will largely depend on the amount of zeal with which people take up to non-violence and truth. The Peace Movement is part

of such effort to bring about a society where every man will not be at the other man's throat and where all will live together in peace and make for prosperity."

II

Peace as Dharma

(A speech by Shri J. C. Kumarappa delivered before the World Congress for Peace at Vienna).

" As we are meeting here to explore all ways and means of attaining world peace, I wish to place before you for your consideration the methods worked out in India by Mahatma Gandhi and his analysis of the reasons for friction among nations and the way to smoothen international relations.

The philosophy of non-violence and truth of Gandhiji has its deep roots in the way of life developed over thousands of years by the Hindus to lead us to peace. Hence to understand the Gandhian way of peace it is necessary to remind ourselves of this ancient background.

They held Truth is God and Dharma is the purpose of existence of man. Nay, each creature — sentient and insentient — has its own Dharma. The Dharma of man is to express himself in peace. Dharma is neither religion nor duty as is often indifferently translated. These latter are but expressions of Dharma but not all of it. Just as to produce flowers is the nature of the rose plant and to exude fragrance is of the very nature of the rose, so should the production of peace be the very existence of man. We may say flowering is the Dharma of the rose and peace is the Dharma of man. Anything that produces conflict is Adharma.

Modern philosophy of life has turned man into an economic animal. It has made production of goods the Dharma of man. This is a degradation of the mission in life of man. We may say, if we choose, that the Dharma of the machine is to produce goods. But man is something nobler. Life does not consist in the abundance of things we possess. Man does not live by bread alone and much less by unwanted things made into necessities by artificial pressure of salesmanship and advertising. Thus has man fallen from his Dharma and has brought conflict into the world of humanity by introducing false values and priorities. If we wish to restore peace we have to reorientate our own lives. This may involve foregoing many material things which we have come to regard as essentials. In the restoration of Dharma lies the hope of World Peace.

The Dharma of the strong is the protection of the weak. The all powerful America, fighting small nations like Korea, is Adharma. It belongs to the animal kingdom. The Dharma of the tiger may be to kill but not that of man. We have to diagnose this virus of poison that has entered human life and has produced this phenomenon of nation warring against nation and man's personality being buried under a mountain of consumer goods. This finally leads man to seek a way out by blowing up this mountain by a ceaseless activity of producing instruments of destruction. To a cool thinker production of the atom bomb would seem the height of midsummer madness and what shall we say of hydrogen bombs and germ warfare ! Man has thus fallen from his Dharma and wandered into the jungle of violence. Hence it is necessary to restore the values that make for human

development and fuller expression of personality. To do this was Gandhi's search for truth and the non-violent way of life.

The malady the world is suffering from today is mainly due to economic factors. We have forgotten the end of man in life and are running after things that do not matter. In the few minutes at our disposal I shall attempt an analysis of the situation from a practical point of view and see how we can remedy it and implement the suggestions.

If the way of Dharma leads to peace then any act that is Adharma will lead to violence. These global conflicts are not isolated incidents. They are the culminations of innumerable small acts performed by simple people innocently. Though the responsibility for wars may immediately be placed on some leaders, yet the real causes can be traced to our daily acts. For instance, city people buy milk without asking whether the calf has been fed or the children of the milkman have had their quota. When the milk we buy is not surplus but has been squeezed out of the mouths of calves and children with prior claims, our acts are Adharmic and we create violence, which, when accumulated, breaks out into world catastrophes. Hence we see the real remedy lies in the consumer being closely associated with the producer and the distributor. This means decentralization of production and a move towards self-sufficiency. This has been Gandhiji's suggestion for banishing the causes of war.

On the production side today the goods are turned out on a mass scale with standardized methods, from raw materials secured from the ends of the earth from under-developed people. All this is Adharmic. Similarly, distribution has no natural urge but is stimulated

by all manner of artificial multiplicity of wants. This again is Adharmic and leads to violence.

The pattern of consumption has no relation to real needs of the consumer, nor is it related one to another nor based on any priorities. The consumer pattern is calculated to subserve the needs of the producer and distributor. Hence periodic explosions are called for to set the system on proper lines. These again lead to wars.

As long as the capitalistic and imperialistic interests persist and production follows centralized and standardized methods, wars will form an integral part of human life and no amount of petitions and protests will bring about lasting peace.

Because of these underlying causes the atmosphere is surcharged with a fear of acquisitive interests being upset by a spreading sense of social justice. The American bloc represents private property and individual profits, while Russia, China and associated countries stand for social justice. The handful of American vested interests desire to stop the evergrowing consciousness of the masses for a square deal. Here is the world situation in a nutshell. America attempts to cordon off the awakening of the masses along the political line starting from Korea, China, Burma, India, Iraq and Jordania etc. going on to West Germany. To this end the U.S.A. is moving heaven and earth to get a foothold on all these countries by fair means or foul — by wars, by finance, by pretended social service and goodwill etc. Let us be awake to the dangers around us and be forewarned.

What then is the remedy ? The causes themselves suggest the way out. We have already seen that

Gandhiji had suggested self-sufficiency and decentralization of production.

Russia is working out the first by the Government taking over their foreign trade and by producing most of her needs within their borders. This is a healthy move. But they are still adhering to centralized methods of production which is also basically a cause of conflict as we diagnose the situation.

The American way is heading directly towards international conflicts all along the line and their ultimate interest is financial. To call a halt we should resort to methods which are also Dharmic if we aim at permanence. Here also Gandhiji had indicated the way of non-violent non-co-operation with the offender which may finally result in the launching of a Satyagraha movement.

In the economic field this will result in a boycott of all trade transactions with the offender and thus isolating him from the rest of human society. If we apply this sanction all nations should stop dealing in American goods. For instance, India is flooded with American goods of all kinds — automobiles, electrical goods, fountain pens, drugs and cosmetics and all kinds of consumer goods. Therefore if an embargo is placed on these it will bring the Government of the U.S.A. to its senses quickly.

In this Congress over 70 nations are represented. If all these countries decide on one common course of action it cannot be long before the U.S.A. authorities can be called to order. On the other hand, a mere threat of armed might will only challenge them to a greater and more rapid production of armaments. This may even be an attraction to the manufacturers

and merchants of death as an opportunity for acquiring greater wealth.

This course of action brings promotion of World Peace within the reach of every single one of us. We need not feel helpless before the great ones of the earth. Everyone can contribute his mite. This is a great privilege and a responsibility : It calls for self-control and sacrifice in the cause of peace. Are we prepared to shoulder our share of work ?

All this is based on the assumption that we shall have enough basic character to organize each nation into behaving in co-operation with the rest of the world on a high level of moral and spiritual standards. The education of the children must be recast to enable us to raise a nation of stalwarts who will depend on character rather than armaments to maintain peace. Only such peaceful relations, founded on co-operation, understanding and goodwill, will lead us to lasting peace.

In such a world there can be no exploitation of the weak by the strong, oppression of the under-developed by the highly organized, or over-powering of the small by the mighty. Such human relations alone can lead to peace on earth and goodwill towards men."

III

The Training of Children

"As a preparation for a society that will function in a peaceful world, it is necessary to train children from the very beginning.

While in Bulgaria in the city of Plovdiv on one Sunday evening, when he was free, his interpreter, M. Hiristrov, suggested that Kumarappa should go up

in one of the five hills on which the city was built and take a view of the panorama from there. Accordingly they went up to a small part on one of the hills. That hill itself was populated by workers. The houses were like our houses in India mostly one-storied and covered by the usual type of country tiles as in our country. Many of the houses were almost toppling down. The streets were paved with cobbles, worn out during the centuries. They were so narrow that there was hardly room enough for the small car to go up. As it was a Sunday afternoon, the park was almost empty. Kumarappa was taken to a small cement concrete bench at the top of a precipice overlooking the business part of the city.

After about 15 or 20 minutes, they turned round towards the inside of the park to return. At that moment near the entrance of the park were sighted about 20-30 children of 12 years and below. They had naturally gathered together to have a good look at the stranger dressed in white Khadi and with a Gandhi cap. They stood at a respectable distance. As soon as Kumarappa saw them he beckoned to them and greeted them. This was the signal for all of them to rush towards him.

A tiny boy, barely able to walk, being about a couple of years, toddled along holding the hands of two other girls. He rushed straight to Kumarappa and clung on to his knees. Kumarappa picked him up and put him on his lap. The little boy immediately rested his head on Kumarappa's shoulders and put his hands around his neck. Then Kumarappa asked the older children if they could guess where he was from. They immediately answered, "Inde, Inde". Then he enquired what they knew of India. They replied,

"Mahatma Gandhi lived there." When they were again asked, whether they knew anything else there. Promptly the reply came, "Nehru is your President." This was amazing, because even the most well-informed in our country would hardly be able to mention the name of the Bulgarian Capital or its President.

Then for about 10 minutes he spoke to them on a few facts about India which might interest the children. At the end of this, he told the children that he had entertained them for those few minutes and enquired of them what they could do in return. Immediately they went into a committee of the whole house and decided that one girl should sing. As soon as this girl started, instead of its being a solo, all of them joined in and sang beautifully. Then a few more songs followed. By this time about half a dozen grown-up people from the neighbouring cottages filled in. Then again the children counselled together and pushed forward one of them to dance. This child who must have been below ten was evidently a gifted girl and gave a demonstration of a Russian Ballet Dance. When this was over Kumarappa asked where she got this training and they all shouted that their schools teach them dancing and music.

After thanking them all, Kumarappa and his interpreter moved towards the park gate while the children surrounded them and followed in a group. Kumarappa got into the car and shut the door with the left hand and was looking towards the right waiting for the interpreter to come in. Suddenly a child of about 6 jumped on to the foot-board and hurriedly pulled off the Pioneer's scarf round her neck and put it around Kumarappa's and picked up his left hand

which was resting on the door and kissed it. At this moment all the other children clapped hands. This immediately made the child self-conscious and she jumped off the foot-board, ran towards the crowd hiding herself behind a bigger girl, and peeped at the guest who drove off waving them all good-bye.

This was a marvellous impromptu reception got up by little children all by themselves and was a clear demonstration of the goodwill towards foreigners that has been inculcated in them in childhood and impressed Kumarappa greatly.

After a few days, he was in Glasgow on a visit to his nephew when he had narrated this above-mentioned experience of children in Bulgaria in the poor part of Plovdiv City. His nephew asked him if he would like to visit the workers' quarters of Glasgow too. Then he drove to such quarters.

That day was also a Sunday and some of the boys and girls about the same age as the ones at Plovdiv City were playing on the trafficless streets. As soon as the guests came out of the car, Kumarappa greeted the children as cordially as he had done at Plovdiv. They stood back a little until one of the ring-leaders raised a shout of "blackies niggers, black men". Immediately Kumarappa explained to his fellow visitors, "Here is the difference in the training of children between an Imperialist country and a Socialistic State. It is such training of youth that gets imbedded in childhood that shows itself in colour, and class distinction. International peace is disturbed later by such feelings."

IV

The Place of Basic Education

In the training of children great care has to be taken in developing their tender minds through art and culture presented to them at a very early age. Toys should be calculated to instil peaceful occupations and centre their activity towards expressing themselves. While in countries under the Soviet influence Kumarappa had noticed that all the toys that could be seen in the shops were all built on activities of peace-time, boating, fishing, motoring, agricultural occupations, etc. These formed the motif for the toys.

When Kumarappa came to London he was walking along a suburban highway at Enfield, North London. He noticed a baby in a perambulator being pushed along by a girl about 12 years of age. By her was walking a boy of about six, presumably all of the same family. The older girl rested the pram on herself and pulled out a little packet from her sash at her waist. Immediately the little boy who was by her side ran up in front of her and whipped out a small toy-revolver, pointing it towards the older girl, shouted, "Your purse or your life?" At this the older girl smiled and pulled out from her bag a sweet and handed it to the boy who quickly replaced his revolver in his pocket, unwrapped the sweet and enjoyed it. Here we have the effect of "Gangster economy" presented to children in various ways. It mars the fine feeling they have for their neighbours, that should be developed at a very early stage and gets them used to the idea of killing their neighbours.

Similarly at Stockholm Kumarappa noticed a child about five years carrying a teddy bear, almost half her

size, in her left hand and in her right hand she had between her fingers what appeared to be a partly-burnt cigarette. She put this to her mouth again and appeared to smoke. The ash was there; the glowing cinder of the cigarette did not glow further at her apparent pulling at the cigarette. So Kumarappa realized that it was only a toy and what appeared to be the smoke was the moisture from her breath condensing in the cold air! It is shocking to find toys made to develop the children in the technique of bad habits. This again was in a so-called free country!

We should place our children in healthy and noble surroundings which will develop them into peaceful citizens of the world, and help them to acquire commendable social habits from their tender age. This is the purpose of Nai Talim formulated by Gandhiji.

PART V

NON-EXPLOITATIVE ECONOMICS

NON-EXPLOITATIVE ECONOMICS

The Approach

Kumarappa was a delegate to the International Conference of Economists which was held at Moscow. At the time of the Conference he was introduced to a Russian Economist. When he heard the name the Russian friend raised his brows in surprise and exclaimed, " What! the 'Tiger Economy' Kumarappa?" This referred to Kumarappa's illustration of Imperialism as being parasitic and allied to the Economics of a Tiger. Then the same person was with Kumarappa in a car driving through Leningrad by the side of a canal. Then the Russian Economist pointed out a palace on the banks of the canal and said, " This is the palace where Rasputin, the Monk, was shot and his body was thrown into the canal." After a while, he enquired of Kumarappa whether he would allow him the liberty of expressing the thoughts that were foremost in his mind at that time. On being given the needed permission, he said, " When Rasputin's body was thrown into this canal, it was picked up about two furlongs down the stream. But I was thinking just now that if your body was ever thrown into this canal, we shall have to look for it two furlongs up the river, because your economic thought runs contrary to the current prevalent today! Though we appreciate the ideas behind it, one doubts the practicability of such ideals in the present setting of the world."

Kumarappa remarked, " It is natural for you to feel that way because you are immersed in economics with a violent background, while those of us connected with Gandhiji are struggling towards an 'Economics of a Non-violent Social Order'."

The Medium of Exchange and Prices

While in Moscow, Kumarappa discovered all prices prevailing in Moscow were several times the prices of better-made articles in London or New York, while goods were in plenty and customers were crowding the shops, it seemed rather strange. It was then pointed out to him that though the Government fixed the prices, they are high because a definite effort is made to ensure that such prices will give an adequately comfortable standard of living to the producer of both raw materials and labour. This naturally puts up the prices and as the rouble has no storage value of purchasing power, it is only a medium of exchange like a coupon, and therefore, people part with it readily and buy consumer goods in exchange.

Economics of the Producer

In India, the producers of raw materials are starved because of the low prices at which these goods are sold and exported to capitalistic countries. Similarly, labour in our country has no guarantee to the work or to an adequate standard of living all through the year. There is, on the other hand, an increasing tendency to develop labour-saving machinery which under Indian conditions are going counter to the plans laid out in Russia for the betterment of the Russian worker.

Under the Soviet Regime for instance, ordinary medium quality hand-made shoes will be priced round about Rs. 250/- while similar shoes can be had in India for Rs. 20/-. The Russian skilful shoe-maker is guaranteed an income of about 2,500 roubles a month while a college professor also gets about that amount. So that hand-labour or mental work are not differentiated.

Once when Kumarappa was passing through Moscow he found a street of newly built up flats around an open quadrangle with children's playground, tennis courts, etc. Then Kumarappa got out of his car to see the place which was said to be a new plot developed for workers. At the sight of a white Khadi-clad, Gandhi-capped figure, many persons appeared at the windows for a closer look, and Kumarappa wondered if they would allow him to go in and see some of these flats. So his interpreter, a middle aged man, asked permission from an elderly lady standing at her window with an eager look and watching the guests. No sooner the interpreter made towards her flat, she rushed to the front door and greeted her visitors and welcomed them to see her flat. It was newly built, fitted with radio in the drawing room, with a central heating arrangement for the whole flat, the bed-room was well-furnished, neat and clean, while the kitchen was equipped to cook with gas or electricity. Just then a girl about 17 years old rushed in. Kumarappa asked her who she was and what she was doing. She mentioned that she is the daughter of the house and that she was undergoing 5 years' training as a hydraulic engineer at the local Poly-technic. On enquiry, she said that her father was a shoemaker ; her expenses at college were all met by the State. Kumarappa could hardly believe his eyes and ears that a Mochi's daughter could ever be living in comfort ! And this made him believe in the explanation given him earlier in regard to high prices.

Economics of the Consumer

In 1949, Kumarappa was invited by the War Resisters' International to explain the Gandhian approach to Economics at their Conference at Shrewsbury, England. At this Conference, he mainly dwelt on how

exploitation takes place largely due to the ignorance of the consumer. At that time a great extent of land, along the East Coast of India, which was once producing millets etc. to feed the people, was then being transformed to produce virginia tobacco for the Imperial Tobacco Company of London, and he cited this as an example of how consumers in London patronized this tobacco without knowing that the people who formerly lived on the cultivation of land in that part of India were dying from a famine caused by shortage of food products. Several such instances of the ignorance of the consumer were cited as a cause of mal-distribution, resulting in poverty, distress and wars.

The next morning, an elderly lady came to Kumarappa and said that all night she has been turning over what had been said the previous day about the ignorance of the consumer. She confessed that she was absolutely unaware of the evils incidental to the shifting of crops. She herself had been for a long time a chain-smoker, but during the last restless night she spent, she made up her mind never to touch cigarettes any more ! This, she acknowledged, was only a token of her realization that she too was unconsciously contributing towards creating war conditions. She said that many things in modern English life is dependent on comforts, about the origin of which the consumers knew little or nothing.

While she recognized this she agreed that it will not be possible for her to change her whole life completely at her age. But she had made up her mind, cost what it may, to give up tobacco smoking as a token of her agreement that the education of the consumer will go a long way towards bringing a non-violent economy.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE FAMILY "WHO IS WHO"

Kumarappa comes of a large family of highly educated persons each important in his or her own line. The father (1851-1917) the late Shri S. D. Cornelius, was the eldest son of the late Rev. John Cornelius of the East Gate Church, Madurai. He married Esther Rajanayakam (1856-1924). They were not wealthy as riches are reckoned these days. The father was a Government servant who owned a few houses at Madurai and Madras. All this property was sunk in the education of their twelve children — 6 girls and 6 boys. The elder two boys died in childhood. The eldest daughter, the late Dorachi, married the Rev. G. Kantayya, B.A., L.T. All the other nine are living.

However interesting each one's history may be, it is not possible to narrate them here. We shall confine ourselves to a brief word or two on each.

The parents believed in giving the children, boy or girl, as good a start as they could afford. Each one of the boys worked for some years after that and went abroad a second time for higher studies with either a scholarship or self-acquired property. Thus they are more or less self-made.

1. Sornam Elizabeth — born 1878 B.A. (*Madras*) served as member of the Senate of Madras University, was a member of the Madras City Corporation. Has travelled widely in the East and West, founded "Vidyodaya" Girls High School, at Tyagarayanagar, Madras. Married the late Shri Paul Appasamy who was the Chief Judge of the Madras Civil Court.

2. Jane Rajamani — born in 1882. Educated in Medical College, Madras and practised privately. Married the late Shri C. V. Narasiah, Barrister, practising in Coimbatore.

3. Jagadisan Mohandas Kumarappa, M.A. (*Harvard*), S.T.B. (*Boston*), M.A., Ph.D. (*Columbia*). The eldest of the brothers, born in 1886. Emeritus Director of Tata's School of Social Sciences, Andheri, Bombay.

4. James Thambithurai Cornelius — born in 1889, M.A. (*Ohio*), M.D. (*Cincinatti*), B.P.H. (*Johns Hopkins*), Ph.D. (*London*). Till recently served the U.P. Government as a Health Officer. After retiring, served as Professor of Bacteriology and Hygiene, the Christian Medical College, Vellore. Now in retirement.

5. Grace Pappammal — born 1891. Educated in Herkimer Folks Institute in New York. Married James W. Godfrey, a Barrister, practising in Durban in South Africa.

6. Joseph Cornelius Kumarappa, M.A. (*Columbia*), B.Sc. (Business Administration) (*Syracuse*), F.S.A.A. (*London*), the subject of this book.

7. Kamala Gertrude — born 1893. Educated at the Pennsylvania Women's College, Pittsburg, America — Served in Madras Christian College as Professor of Chemistry. Married Dr. Eddy Asirvatham, who was the lecturer of Comparative Religions in the Boston University and now Head of the Political Science Department, Nagpur University.

8. Prema Margaret — born 1895 — L.M. (*Rotunda* — Dublin) was practising as a Physician. Later joined Government Service and was the Women's Health Officer in Coimbatore District. Now retired.

9. Bharatan Kumarappa — born in 1896 — B.A. (Hons.) (*Madras*), B.D. (*Hartford*), Ph.D. (*Edinburgh*) Ph.D. (*London*) — Was Professor of Philosophy in Madras Christian College — Was the Assistant Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association for nearly 10 years. Served the United Nations as India's Representative on the Social Commission. Author of many books. At present editing all Gandhiji's writings for the Navajivan Trust and the Government of India.

APPENDIX 2

KUMARAPPA LITERATURE

PRINCIPLES AND STUDIES

1. **Why the Village Movement?**

   Gandhiji says: "J. C. Kumarappa answers almost all the doubts that have been expressed about the necessity and feasibility of the movement. No lover of villages can afford to be without the booklet. No doubter can fail to have his doubts dispelled. I wonder if the 'Village Movement' has come just in time to prevent the spread of the movement of despair. This booklet is an attempt to answer the question."

2. **Economy of Permanence** — Part I and II

   Gandhiji says: "Like his brochure on the **Practice and Precepts of Jesus**, Dr. Kumarappa's, **The Economy of Permanence** is a jail production. It is not as easy to understand as the first. It needs careful reading twice or thrice if it is to be fully appreciated. When I took up the manuscript I was curious to know what it could contain. The opening chapter satisfied my curiosity and led me on to the end without fatigue and yet with profit."

3. **Gandhian Economic Thought**

   A splendid exposition of the social economics based on Truth and Non-violence.

4. **Gandhian Way of Life**
Exposition of Gandhism and what it stands for.

5. **Public Finance and Our Poverty**
Gandhiji says: "The reader should carefully study these chapters which contain facts rather than arguments. I recommend the booklet both to the Indian as also to the Western reader."

6. **Report on the Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India** (With Kumarappa as Convenor)
A Survey of the Indian public debt that shook the financial markets of the world.

7. **Clive to Keynes**
A condensation of the above report with additions and alterations to make it up to date.

8. **Organization and Accounts of Relief Work**
Dr. Rajendra Prasad says: "This pamphlet summarizes and collects and collates our experience and method of work (in Bihar Earthquake Relief) and J. C. Kumarappa has done a public service in bringing together the points which may appear obvious now but which were not so obvious when we started and which needed much thought to make them clear. I hope it will prove helpful, not only to new organizations engaged in similar work, but also to students and would-be organizers and social workers."

9. **An Overall Plan for Rural Development**
The case for the balancing of cultivation in order to attain regional self-sufficiency in the primary needs of our people is ably expounded in the book.

10. **Unitary Basis for a Non-violent Democracy**
Argues the case for self-sufficiency in primary needs and gives a detailed picture of how it can be worked out. The basic plan for an Agrarian Research Station.

11. **Currency Inflation — Its Cause and Cure**
A part of the statement to the court exposing the nefarious activities of the Government's policy of inflation.

TRAVELS

12. **Peoples' China — What I Saw and Learnt There**

13. **Report on Agriculture, Cottage and Small Scale Industries in Japan**
14. **A Peep behind the Iron Curtain**
15. **Lessons from Europe**
    These four books are the collections of impressions on world tour.

SURVEYS

16. **An Economic Survey of Matar Taluka**
    Economic Survey of a Taluka in Gujarat done at the behest of Gandhiji in 1930.
17. **Report of the Industrial Survey Committee of C.P. and Berar,** (With Kumarappa as Chairman) 1939
18. **A Plan for the Economic Development of N.W.F. Province,** 1940
19. **Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee** (With Kumarappa as Chairman) in 1948

RELIGION

20. **Practice and Precepts of Jesus**
    Gandhiji says: "Having carefully gone through these chapters, I can recommend their perusal to every believer in God, be he a Christian or a follower of any other religion....It is a revolutionary view of Jesus as a Man of God....If all believe as Prof. Kumarappa does there will be no religious feuds and rivalries between sects and different religions.
    The Dyanodaya says: "We trust our readers will not fail to pray that the Spirit of Christ, who led Prof. Kumarappa to write it, will bless its many readers. To read it is a searching spiritual exercise...the shining sincerity reflected on every page of this book makes it a benediction to read."
21. **Christianity, its Economy and Way of Life**
    A critical examination of the Economic order of the West in the light of the principles enunciated by Jesus.

ESSAYS

22. **Philosophy of Work and Other Essays**
23. **Gandhian Economy and Other Essays**

24. **Science and Progress**
25. **Peace and Prosperity**
26. **Swaraj for the Masses**
27. **Blood Money**
28. **Present Economic Situation**
29. **Our Food Problem**
30. **Banishing War**
31. **Non-violent Economy and World Peace**
32. **Sarvodaya and World Peace**
33. **Planning for the People by the People**
34. **Women and Village Industries**
35. **Cow in Our Economy**

    All these 14 books are compilations of various articles of Kumarappa on those topics.

BIOGRAPHICAL

36. **Stone Walls and Iron Bars**

    An account of the jail experiences of Kumarappa and his suggestions for reform.

37. **The Economics of Peace: The Cause and the Man**

    Edited by Shri S. K. George and Shri G. Ramachandran. At the root of all conflicts and wars will invariably be found some form or other of exploitation somewhere in the world. It is this teaching of Shri Kumarappa that is sought to be elucidated in this volume.

    The Hindustan Times writes:

    " The treatise throws a floodlight on the theory and practice of Gandhian Economics and discusses the various programmes launched for the uplift of masses with a decentralized village economy as the focal point of the whole movement."

38. **Biography of Kumarappa** — in Tamil by M. Vinaik

PERIODICAL

Besides, Kumarappa is the Editor of **Gram Udyog Patrika**, a monthly devoted for the advancement of Sarvodaya Order of Society.

Gandhiji says: "**Gram Udyog Patrika** contains solid reading matter for those who are interested in the revival of village industries."

These books and the Journal can be had of:
The Publications Division,
A. B. Sarva Seva Sangh,
Kakawadi, Wardha, M.P.
OR
The Sarva Seva Sangh Bookstall,
Gandhiniketan, T. Kallupatti P.O.,
Via — Tirumangalam, S. Rly.

APPENDIX 3

ITINERARY OF FOREIGN TOURS

Kumarappa visited the following places in the foreign countries in connection with the conferences he attended:

Adviser, Shipping Delegation:

1947	July	10	Bombay
		11	Karachi
		13	London: Delegation Meetings
			,, Sir Stafford Cripps
			,, Sir Geo: Schuster
			,, Lord Listowal
		23	Peace News
		24	Darlington: Elmhirst's Farm & Small Industries
		25	Cardiff: Coal Mines
		28	Swanwick: Students' Conference
	Aug.	1	London
		10	Paris
		11	Zurich: Meeting — Shri Dhirubhai Desai
		14	Paris
		16	Karachi
		17	Bombay
		19	Wardha

Delegate, War Resisters' International:

1948	July	27	Bombay
		28	London
	Aug.	5	Shrewsbury — War Resisters' International Conference

		10	London
		15	Northampton
		17	Birmingham
		18	London
		20	Geneva
		22	Bombay

CHINA: Delegate of the Goodwill Mission for their Independence Day Celebrations:

1951	Sept.	20	Calcutta
		21	Rangoon
		22	Bangkok
		23	Canton
		26	Peking
	Oct.	9	The Greatwall
		12	Mukden
		14	Tientsing
		19	Nanking, Shanghai
		25	Hanchow
		29	Canton
		30	Hongkong

JAPAN: A Study Tour

1951	Nov.	1	Tokyo
		12	Hemamatsu
		13	Okazaki
		14	Nagoya
		16	Gifu
		17	Kyoto
		19	Osaka
		22	Kobe
		23	Yokohama
		24	Hiroshima
		26	Tokyo
	Dec.	5	Nikko
		7	Yokohama
		8	On Board "Esang"
		10	Osaka
		11	Kobe
		18	Hongkong
		26	Singapore

		28	Calcutta
1952	Jan.	1	Wardha

RUSSIA: Delegate International Economists' Conference

1952	March	30	Bombay
		31	Zurich
	April	2	Prague, Moscow
		17	Leningrad
		19	Moscow
		21	Tashkent
		25	Ferghana
		26	Stalingrad
		28	Moscow
	May	5	Tashkent
		6	Kabul
		11	Ahmedabad

GERMANY: Delegate World Peace Council

1952	July	1	Bombay
		3	Berlin
		7	Neiheim
		8	Dresden
		11	Prague
		19	Bombay

RUSSIA: Delegate World Congress for Peace

1952	Dec.	7	Bombay
		8	Karachi, Paris
		9	Zurich
		10	Vienna
		24	Budapest
		26	Moscow
1953	Jan.	7	Tiblisi
		9	Kabulati
		10	Gori
		12	Tiblisi, Stalingrad
		14	Moscow
		16	Leningrad
		18	Moscow
		24	Vienna
		25	Bombay

GERMANY, BULGARIA AND BRITAIN : Delegate World Council of Peace, International Peace Conference, and War Resisters' International

1954	May	18	Bombay
		19	Geneva
		20	Berlin
		29	Dresden
		31	Lobau
	June	1	Bautzen
		2	Dresden
		4	Berlin
		5	Sofia
		10	Plovdiv City
		12	Stalin
		17	Prague
		19	Stockholm
		25	Copenhagen
		27	London
		30	Glasgow
	July	3	London
		28	Paris
	Aug.	3	London
		5	Southampton
		19	Colombo
		20	Kallupatti (India)

APPENDIX 4

PERIODS IN JAILS

I	1931	Sentenced for one and a half years' rigorous imprisonment, Central Jail, Sabarmati.
II	1932/34	Sentenced for two and a half years' rigorous imprisonment, Central Jail, Nasik.
III	1942	Under detention and as an undertrial for a year and a half, Arthur Road Jail, Bombay, District Jail, Wardha, Central Jail, Nagpur.
IV	1943/45	Sentenced for two years and a half rigorous imprisonment on each of the three counts to run concurrently, Central Jail, Jubbulpore.

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